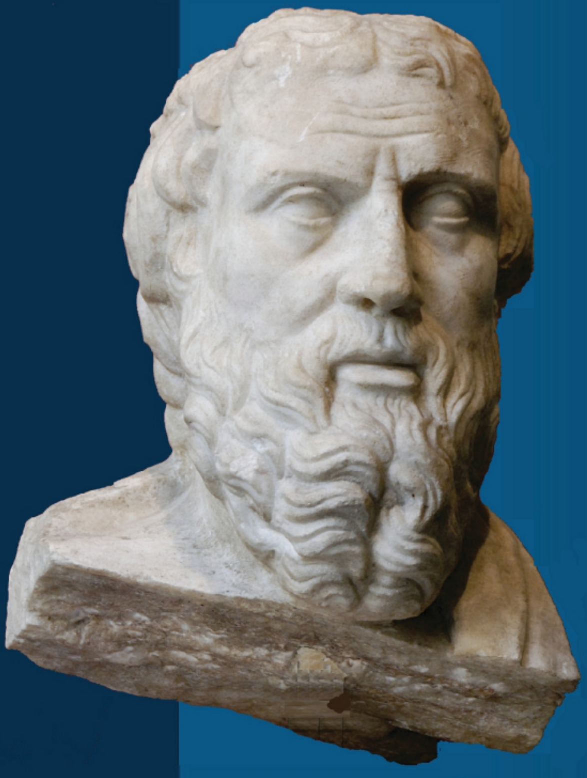
Herodotus in Nubia



LÁSZLÓ TÖRÖK

MNEMOSYNE SUPPLEMENTS HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY

BRILL

Herodotus in Nubia

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Herodotus in Nubia

By

László Török

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This book is printed on acid-free paper.

In memory of my wife Elizabeth
24 February 1943–8 August 2012

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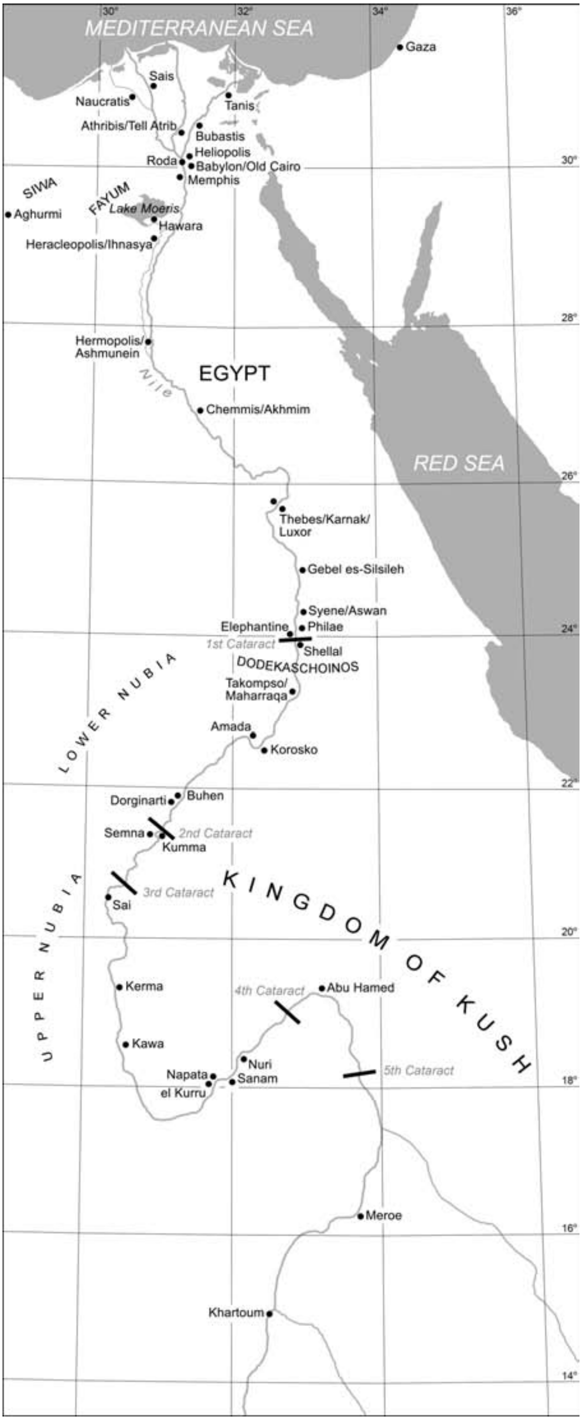

Map of Egypt and Nubia

Political and Geographical Terms

The political term *Kush* refers to the native kingdom emerging after the end of the Egyptian New Kingdom occupation (*c.* 1069 BC) and existing in the *Middle Nile Region* (between the First Cataract and the Khartoum area) as a political unit until the AD fourth century.[1] Between the end of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty (the kings of which ruled over a double kingdom extending over Kush and Egypt) and the third century BC, the Kingdom of Kush may also be called *Kingdom of Napata* (after one of its centres); between the third century BC and the AD fourth century it may be referred to as *Kingdom of Meroe* (after another one of its centres).

In Greek texts in general and in Herodotus' *Histories* in particular[2] the Kingdom of Kush is called Αἰθιοπία, *Aithiopia*. In order to avoid confusion with modern Abyssinia, the form Aithiopia is to be preferred to the generally used writing *Ethiopia*.[3] In Herodotus' work Aithiopia is the name not only of the "really existing" land south of Egypt's southern border, but also that of the fabulous land of the long-lived Aithiopians (Αἰθίοπες μακρόβιοι[4]). In the *Histories* mention is also made of dark-skinned Eastern or Asiatic Aithiopians (3.94, 7.70) living somewhere in Makran or Beluchistan.[5] They do not belong to the topic of the present study.

Geographically, and to an extent also politically, the term Aithiopia is interchangeable with the term *Nubia*.[6] In a strict sense, Nubia[7] designates *Lower Nubia* between the First and Second Cataracts and *Upper Nubia* between the Second and Fifth Cataracts. The term *ancient Nubia* is used as a general reference to the ancient polities and cultures in the Middle Nile Region.

The territory of ancient Nubia extends over the territory of two modern political units, namely, Egypt (Lower Nubia from the First Cataract to Maharraqa, a place now under the waters of Lake Nasser) and the Sudan (south of Maharraqa). Discussing the Herodotean text, I shall use the term Aithiopia. Referring

1 Cf. Adams 1977; Török 1997a.

2 For the occurrences of Αἰθιοπία, Αἰθίοπες, Αἰθιοπίη, Αἰθιοπικός, Αἰθιοπίς, Αἰθίοψ in the *Histories*, see J.E. Powell: *A Lexicon to Herodotus*. Cambridge 1938.

3 In quotations from the literature the form used by the actual author is preserved.

4 Herodotus 3.17, 3.23.2. Cf. H. Last: Αἰθίοπες μακρόβιοι. *CQ* 17 (1923) 35 f. and Desanges 2008 173 f.

5 Cf. Karttunen 2002 466 f.; Asheri 2007c 415 f.

6 From the Nobiin ethnonym *nob*, "Nubian"? Cf. F. Breyer, *MittSAG* 20 (2009) 173–176.

7 For the natural, social, economic and cultural geography of Nubia, see Adams 1977.

to the actual land and polities behind Herodotus' Aithiopia I shall use both the terms Nubia and Kush.

Abbreviations

Periodicals, Series and Abbreviations Used in the Text and the Footnotes

ANM	*Archéologie du Nil Moyen*, Lille.
Annales Budapest	*Annales Universitatis Scientiarum Budapestinensis de Rolando Eötvös Nominatae, Sectio Historica*, Budapest.
ANRW	W. Haase–H. Temporini (eds): *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*. Berlin-New York.
Antichthon	*Antichthon. Journal of the Australian Society for Classical Studies*, Sydney.
AoF	*Altorientalische Forschungen*, Berlin.
Arethusa	*Arethusa*, Baltimore.
ASAE	*Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, Le Caire.
Athenaeum	*Athenaeum. Studi di letteratura e storia dell'antichità*, Como.
ÄA	*Ägyptologische Abhandlungen*, Wiesbaden.
ÄAT	*Ägypten und Altes Testament. Studien zu Geschichte, Kultur und Religion Ägyptens und des Alten Testaments*, Wiesbaden.
BdÉ	*Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale Bibliothèque d'Étude*, Le Caire.
Berlin	Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin.
BIFAO	*Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*, Le Caire.
BiGen	*Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale Bibliothèque Générale*, Le Caire.
BiOr	*Bibliotheca Orientalis*, Leiden.
BM	The British Museum, London.
BzS	*Beiträge zur Sudanforschung*, Wien.
Cairo	Egyptian Museum, Cairo.
CAJ	*Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, Cambridge.
CdÉ	*Chronique d'Égypte*, Bruxelles.
CJ	*The Classical Journal*, Ashland.
Copenhagen	Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen.
CPh	*Classical Philology. A Journal Devoted to Research in Classical Antiquity*, Chicago.

CRIPEL	*Cahier de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille*, Lille.
CQ	*Classical Quarterly*, Oxford.
d.	died.
Dyn.	Dynasty.
Eranos	*Eranos. Acta Philologica Suecana*, Oslo.
EVO	*Egitto e Vicino Oriente. Rivista della Sezione orientalistica dell'Istituto di storia antica dell'Università di Pisa*, Pisa.
fl.	floruit.
GM	*Göttinger Miszellen*, Göttingen.
Hdt.	Herodotus, *The Histories*.
Historia	*Historia. Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte. Revue d'Histoire Ancienne*, Stuttgart.
ICS	*Illinois Classical Studies*, Champaign, Ill.
IFAO	Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le Caire.
JARCE	*Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, Boston.
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, London.
JESHO	*Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, London.
JHS	*The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, London.
JSSEA	*Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities*, Toronto.
Kêmi	*Kêmi. Revue de philologie et d'archéologie égyptiennes et coptes*, Paris.
Khartoum	Sudan National Museum, Khartoum.
Klio	*Klio. Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte*, Berlin.
LAAA	*Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, Liverpool.
Lalies	*Lalies. Actes des sessions de linguistique et de littérature*, Paris.
LCM	*Liverpool Classical Monthly*, Liverpool.
MDAIK	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo*, Mainz.
MDATC	*Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici*, Pisa.
Meroitica	*Meroitica. Schriften zur altsudanesischen Geschichte und Archäologie*, Berlin (vols. 1–14), Wiesbaden (vols 15–).
MFA	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
MittSAG	*Der antike Sudan. Mitteilungen der Sudanarchäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin e.V.*, Berlin.
OAth	*Opuscula Atheniensia. Annual of the Swedish Institute at Athens*, Sävedalen.

OBO	*Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis*, Fribourg-Göttingen.
Or	*Orientalia*, Roma.
PBA	*Proceedings of the British Academy*, London.
RA	*Revue Archéologique*, Paris.
REgypt	*Revue d'égyptologie*, Paris, Leuven.
RHR	*Revue de l'histoire des religions*, Paris.
Saeculum	*Saeculum. Jahrbuch für Universalgeschichte*, Freiburg im Breisgau.
SAK	*Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur*, Hamburg.
SO	*Symbolae Osloenses. Norwegian Journal of Greek and Latin Studies*, Oslo.
SSEA	*Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities*, Toronto.
StudAeg	*Studia Aegyptiaca*, Budapest.
Sudan & Nubia	*Sudan & Nubia. The Sudan Archaeological Research Society Bulletin*, London.
temp.	in the time of.
Trans	*Transeuphratène. Recherches pluridisciplinaires sur une province de l'Empire achéménide*, Pendé.
trans.	translation, translated by.
TrGF	*Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*. Berlin 1971–.
Tyche	*Tyche. Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte, Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, Wien.
ZÄS	*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, Leipzig, Berlin.

CHAPTER 1

Herodotus' Nubia in Modern Scholarship

1 Images of Nubia in Herodotean Scholarship

> While the larger ethnographical *logoi* or excursuses had a well-defined place in the scope of [Herodotus'] great history (...) the fringes were just appendices. They were not necessary, but certainly entertaining. The fringes were different, completely different, which fascinated Herodotus and probably his readers, too.[1]

> [D]arkness is not a subject for history.[2]

The little attention students of the work of the Father of History[3] generally pay to the Aithiopian passages is proportionate to the small volume—hardly more than two thousand words—that these occupy in the *Histories*.[4] Their cavalier treatment is also influenced by the traditional belief that they reflect "the tendency of Greek writers to treat Nubia as essentially an appendage of Egypt, all the more so since most Greek accounts of Nubia took the form of appendices to digressions on Egypt".[5]

Be they conservative *Quellenforscher* or modern narratologists,[6] students of Herodotus do not feel obliged to inquire into the history and culture of ancient Nubia because students of ancient Egypt encourage them to maintain that modern Egyptology's view of the Middle Nile Region does not greatly differ

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1 Karttunen 2002 459.

2 H. Trevor-Roper: *The Rise of Christian Europe*. London 1965 9, quoted by Fernández-Armesto 2002 149.

3 Herodotus was called *pater historiae* first by Cicero, *De legibus* 1.1.5.

4 The standard Greek text of the *Histories* is to be found in C. Hude: *Herodoti Historiae* I–II. Oxford[3] 1927 and H.B. Rosén: *Herodoti Historiae* I–II. Stuttgart-Leipzig 1987, 1995. In this study I quote Tormod Eide's English translation of the Aithiopian passages from Vol. I of the *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum* (*FHN*); some passages are cited from the translation of de Sélincourt–Marincola 2003.—Herodotus' work came to be called *History* or *Histories* in late antiquity. Herodotus uses ἱστορίη in the meaning "enquiries", "researches", "studies". The Greek term was restricted to the human past from the fourth century BC, see Asheri 2007a 8.

5 Burstein 1995 31.

6 Cf. H. White: *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-century Europe*. Baltimore-London 1973; id.: The Historical Text as Literary Artefact. in: R.H. Canary–H. Kozicki (eds): *The*

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from that of the ancient Greek writers. Alan Lloyd's comment on *Histories* 2.30, a frequently quoted passage conveying Herodotus' view that Aithiopian culture had Egyptian origins (see here Chapter 2, Text 6; Chapter 4.7), presents a pertinent summary of the twentieth-century Egyptological consensus:[7]

> That the civilization of Ethiopia was an off-shoot of that of Pharaonic Egypt is true (…) Egyptians were settled in the country as early as the Old Kingdom and during the New Kingdom the whole country as far as the Fourth Cataract became an Egyptian province and was thoroughly Egyptianized. Even after the collapse of Egyptian authority at the end of the 2nd Millennium her cultural influence continued and formed the basis of the Meroitic Civilization which flourished during Herodotus' lifetime.[8]

In Herodotean scholarship the interpretation of the Aithiopian passages remains dependent on out-dated images of ancient Nubia presented in the Egyptological literature published before the UNESCO International Campaign to Save the Monuments of Nubia (1959–1969).[9] While the discoveries made during the Campaign brought forth the unfolding of Nubian Studies, a special historical, archaeological, and culture-historical discipline,[10] students of

Writing of History. Madison 1978 41–62; id.: *Topics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism*. Baltimore 1978; id.: *The Content of Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation*. Baltimore 1987.

7 For the consensus, see recently *The Oxford History of Egypt*: J. Taylor: The Third Intermediate Period (1069–664 BC). in: Shaw (ed.) 2000 330–368 356.

8 Lloyd 1976 132. See also Asheri 2007c 416, 420.—Lloyd's extension of the Meroitic period over the fifth century BC does not correspond with the Nubiological terminology, see Political and Geographical Terms.

9 For the Campaign see, with further literature, W.Y. Adams: The Nubian Archaeological Campaigns of 1959–1969: Myths and Realities, Success and Failures. in: Bonnet (ed.) 1992 3–27; A.J. Mills: The Archaeological Survey from Gemai to Dal. ibid. 29–31; T. Säve-Söderbergh: The International Nubia Campaign: Two Perspectives. ibid. 33–42; F. Wendorf: The Campaign for Nubian Prehistory. ibid. 43–54.

10 The history and archaeology of Nubia occurs from the 1960s in university curriculums as part of the study of Egyptology, African studies, or social anthropology at several European and American universities. Encouraged by the success of international colloquiums organised in connection with the UNESCO Salvage Campaign (see *Actes du Symposium International sur la Nubie*. Le Caire 1969; E. Dinkler [ed.]: *Kunst und Geschichte Nubiens in christlicher Zeit*. Recklinghausen 1970; L. Habachi [ed.]: *Actes du IIe Symposium International sur la Nubie.* Le Caire 1981), an International Society for Nubian Studies was

Herodotus continue to depend upon obsolete Egyptological commonplaces when appending "source-critical" comments to the Aithiopian passages. As an example of the discrepancy between Herodotean scholarship and Nubian

created in 1972. For the conferences organised by the Society see K. Michalowski (ed.): *Nubia Récentes recherches*. Varsovie 1975; J. Leclant–J. Vercoutter: *Études Nubiennes. Colloque de Chantilly 2–6 Juillet 1975* (*BdÉ* 77). Le Caire 1978; J.M. Plumley (ed.): *Nubian Studies*. Warminster 1982; M. Krause (ed.): *Nubische Studien*. Mainz 1986; T. Hägg (ed.): *Nubian Culture Past and Present* (*Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Konferenser* 17). Stockholm 1987; Bonnet (ed.) 1992; Bonnet (ed.) 1994; *Actes de la VIIIe Conférence Internationale des Études Nubiennes* I. *Communications principales. CRIPEL* 17 (1995); Kendall (ed.) 2004; Caneva–Roccati (eds) 2006; Godlewski–Łajtar (eds) 2008; K. Godlewski–A. Łajtar (eds): *Between the Cataracts. Proceedings of the 11th Conference for Nubian Studies Warsaw University, 27 August–2 September 2006. Part Two Session Papers*. Warsaw 2010.—It was the studies devoted to the monuments of the Meroitic period which were first recognized as a special branch of studies. Conferences devoted to Meroitic studies are, similarly to the conferences organised by the International Society for Nubian Studies, regularly held in intervals of four years ever since the first one that was organised in 1971 by F. Hintze in Berlin. For the International Conferences for Meroitic Studies, see *Meroitica* 1 (1973); 6 (1982); 7 (1984); 10 (1989); Wenig (ed.) 1999; D.A. Welsby (ed.): *Recent Research in Kushite History and Archaeology. Proceedings of the 8th International Conference for Meroitic Studies*. London 1999.—Specialised periodicals and series devoted to Nubian archaeology and history besides *Sudan Notes and Records* and *Kush. Journal of the Sudan Antiquities Service* (Khartoum, 1953–) are the following: *Meroitic Newsletter. Bulletin d'Informations Méroïtiques* (Paris, 1968–); *Meroitica. Schriften zur altsudanesischen Geschichte und Archäologie* (Berlin, 1973–); *Nubian Letters* (information bulletin with occasional preliminary reports, The Hague 1983–); *Beiträge zur Sudanforschung* (Wien, 1986–); *Archéologie du Nil Moyen* (Lille, 1986–); *Nubica. Internationales Jahrbuch für Äthiopische, Meroitische und Nubische Studien* (1990–, 1 Köln; 2–3 Wiesbaden-Warszawa); *Sudan & Nubia. The Sudan Archaeological Research Society Newsletter* (London, 1992–); *Mitteilungen der Sudanarchäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin e.V.* (1994–1999); *Der antike Sudan. Mitteilungen der Sudanarchäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin e.V.* (1999–).—For the academic access to ancient Nubia in the last quarter of the twentieth century, see the overviews in Adams 1977 and Török 1997a, and cf. B.G. Trigger: Paradigms in Sudan Archaeology. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 27 (1994) 323–345; L. Török: Kush: An African State in the First Millennium BC. *PBA* 87 (1995) 1–38; Török 2011c. For major exhibitions, see Wenig 1978; D. Wildung (ed.): *Sudan Ancient Kingdoms of the Nile*. Paris-New York 1997; C. Perez Die (ed.): *Nubia. Los reinos del Nilo en Sudán*. Barcelona 2003; D.A. Welsby–J.R. Anderson: *Sudan Ancient Treasures. An Exhibition of Recent Discoveries from the Sudan National Museum*. London 2004; Baud–Sackho-Autissier–Labbé-Toutée 2010; K. Kröper–S. Schoske–D. Wildung (eds): *Königsstadt Naga. Naga—Royal City. Grabungen in der Wüste des Sudan. Excavations in the Desert of the Sudan*. München-Berlin 2011.—For an overview

Studies I quote a passage from David Asheri's *Commentary* on Book III, one of the most splendid recent works on the *Histories*:[11]

> Most of the area [of Nubia] was known to the Egyptians, who dominated it for 1,500 years, colonized it, and introduced their culture there (...) In ancient Nubia, from the 8th cent. BC, flourished an indigenous kingdom profoundly Egyptian in culture, with a religious centre in Napata, beyond the Fourth Cataract; from the 6th cent. the political capital gradually moved to Meroe, near modern Bagrawiya, about 160 km. south of the Fifth Cataract (...) [The Kingdom of Meroe] was a typically Nilotic culture, stretching along the two banks of the river as far as the desert sand-dunes.[12]

This is very far from the general outline a student of ancient Nubia would furnish today. Impressed by the seemingly thoroughly Egyptianized *appearance* of Nubian culture, earlier students of Nubian history described the Egyptian-Nubian nexus in the terms of conqueror and conquered, initiator and follower, model and imitation. In reality, however, the viceregal administration[13] that was introduced in Nubia after the kings of the early Eighteenth Dynasty expanded the limit of Egypt as far south as the region of the Fourth Cataract[14]

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of the archaeological work conducted in the Middle Nile Region and a bibliography of Nubian literature to 1967, see I. Hofmann: *Die Kulturen des Niltals von Aswan bis Sennar vom Mesolithikum bis zum Ende der christlichen Epoche* (*Monographien zur Völkerkunde herausgegeben vom Hamburgischen Museum für Völkerkunde* IV). Hamburg 1967. For a comprehensive bibliography of Meroitic studies published before 1984 see Török 1988 291–338; for further bibliographies, see the volumes of *Beiträge zur Sudanforschung*; Welsby 1996; Török 1997a; Edwards 2004; Török 2009, 2011a and cf. Fisher et al. (eds) 2012.

11 Cf. Mitchell 2008.

12 Asheri 2007c 416.

13 G.A. Reisner: The Viceroys of Ethiopia. *JEA* 6 (1920) 28–55, 73–88; L. Habachi: Königssohn von Kusch. *LÄ* III (1979) 630–640; A. Gasse–V. Rondot: The Egyptian Conquest and Administration of Nubia during the New Kingdom: The Testimony of the Sehel Rock-inscriptions. *Sudan & Nubia* 7 (2003) 40–46; El-Sayed Mahfouz: Les directeurs des déserts aurifères d'Amon. *REgypt* 56 (2005) 55–78. For further literature, see also Török 2009 171 ff.

14 For the New Kingdom conquest of Nubia, see Trigger 1976; Zibelius-Chen 1988; Smith 1995; B.M. Bryan: The Eighteenth Dynasty before the Amarna Period (*c.* 1550–1352 BC). in: Shaw (ed.) 2000 218–271; Smith 2003; C. Bonnet: *Le temple principal de la ville de Kerma et son quartier religieux. Avec la collaboration de* D. Valbelle, *contribution de* B. Privati. Paris 2004.

was not a colonial system excluding mutual benefit.[15] Nubia was incorporated into the Egyptian redistributive system in such a way that the conquered native territorial political structures were integrated into the political and economic administration of the province.[16] The substructure of production and local redistribution was to a considerable extent based on the social structure of the indigenous chiefdoms existing in Nubia before the New Kingdom conquest. Egyptianization remained selective in all segments of Nubian society.[17]

With the Egyptian withdrawal brought about by the decline of the late Ramesside state in the first half of the eleventh century BC, the centralized political and economic structure disappeared in Nubia. The former viceregal domain disintegrated into smaller native polities. These were more or less identical to the subordinate territorial units of viceregal Nubia, which, in turn, had been organized on the basis of the pre-conquest native polities. The reintegration of Nubia into one political entity in the course of the eighth century BC[18] was determined by the dysfunctions of the fragmented successor polities and facilitated by the native elite's experience of imperial administration. The successor polities inherited elements of a socio-economic structure that functioned properly only on an imperial scale.

Modern students of the Egyptian-Nubian interface prefer to write about an interaction between two rivals[19] and give a description of acculturation processes[20] in Nubia as being characterized by an inner-directed use of Egyptian

15 Cf. R.J. Horvath: A Definition of Colonialism. *Current Anthropology* 1969 1–7; Frandsen 1979; T. Säve-Söderbergh in: Säve-Söderbergh–Troy 1991 10 ff.; Smith 1995; B.J. Kemp: Why Empires Rise. Review Feature, Askut in Nubia. *CAJ* 7 (1997) 125–131; Smith 2003.

16 For the issue cf. R.G. Morkot: Nubia in the New Kingdom: the Limits of Egyptian Control. in: W.V. Davies (ed.): *Egypt and Africa. Nubia from Prehistory to Islam.* London 1991 294–301; id.: The Economy of Nubia in the New Kingdom. in: *Actes de la VIIIe Conférence Internationale des Études Nubiennes* I. *Communications principales. CRIPEL* 17 (1995) 175–189; Morkot 2000 69 ff.; Török 2009 157–283.

17 Cf. Smith 1995, 2003; Török 2009 263 ff.

18 For the different views on the genesis of the Kushite state, see, with the earlier literature, Kendall 1999; id.: A Response to László Török's "Long Chronology" of El Kurru. in: Wenig (ed.) 1999 164–176; R.[G.] Morkot: The Origin of the "Napatan" State. ibid. 139–148; L. Török: The Origin of the Napatan State: The Long Chronology of the El Kurru Cemetery. A Contribution to T. Kendall's Main Paper. ibid. 149–159; Morkot 2000; Morkot 2003; Edwards 2004; Török 2008; Török 2009 285–309; R.G. Morkot: Kings and Kingship in Anient Nubia. in: Fisher et al. (eds) 2012 118–124.

19 O'Connor 1993.

20 For the interpretation of the archaeological evidence, cf. Török 1997a 108 ff.; Kendall 1999; Edwards 2004; Vincentelli 2006; Lohwasser 2010; Lohwasser 2012.

conceptions, forms, means, and modes of expression for the articulation and maintenance of the native Nubian culture. The attitude of the native Nubian Kingdom of Kush was the *adaptation* rather than the *adoption* of Egyptian culture.[21]

Asheri's definition of Napata as the religious centre and first capital of the Kingdom of Kush or the notion of a gradual shift of the political capital from Napata to the city of Meroe goes back to late nineteenth–early twentieth-century speculation.[22] Launching a confused historical discourse, in 1952 G.A. Wainwright[23] dated the emergence of the city of Meroe as capital of Kush with reference to Herodotus 2.29 and also assumed the historicity of Cambyses' campaign (cf. 2.29–31, here Chapter 2, Text 6; Chapter 4.7).

Relying on the evidence of the Kushite royal inscriptions dating from the seventh through fourth centuries BC[24] and on modern settlement historical research,[25] more recent studies argue for a structure in which the territorial units of administration were established around urban settlements functioning as equal "capitals" of the Kingdom of Kush.[26] Each of these "capitals" was centered on compounds formed by the temple of one of the Nubian Amun gods, a royal residence, and stores serving redistribution. The principal administrative centres of this type are attested at Meroe, Napata, Kawa, and Kerma.[27] In the seventh through fourth centuries BC the royal investiture was repeated in the

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21 For the issue, see, with earlier literature, Török 2011a, 2011b.—See also the recent studies on language and literacy: Rilly 2007; C. Rilly: *Le méroitique et sa famille linguistique* (*Collection Afrique et Language* 14). Louvain-Paris 2010; Zibelius-Chen 2011. For a more conservative discussion of the Egyptian-Nubian interface, see Kendall 2007.

22 Cf. I. Hofmann: *Studien zum meroitischen Königtum*. Bruxelles 1971 77; Adams 1977 305, 311; I. Hofmann: *Beiträge zur meroitischen Chronologie*. St. Augustin bei Bonn 1978 41; F. Hintze: The Meroitic Period. in: S. Hochfield–E. Riefstahl (eds): *Africa in Antiquity. The Arts of Ancient Nubia and the Sudan* I. *The Essays*. Brooklyn 1978 89–105 94f.; Shinnie 1996 102, etc.

23 Wainwright 1952.

24 For the inscriptions and their literature, see *FHN* I, II.

25 Cf. Baud 2008.

26 Cf. Török 1992; 1997a 420ff.—This political structure is not to be confused with the "Sudanic model" of the "segmentary state" as argued for by D.N. Edwards: Meroe in the Savannah—Meroe as a Sudanic Kingdom? in: Wenig (ed.) 1999 312–320; cf. D. O'Connor–A. Reid: Introduction. in: O'Connor–Reid (eds) 2003 1–21 16. *Contra*: Török 2008 162f.—For recent settlement historical considerations, see Baud 2008.

27 For the evidence, see Török 2002 *passim*. For the Meroitic period, cf. L. Török: *Economic Offices and Officials in Meroitic Nubia. A Study in Territorial Administration of the Late Meroitic Kingdom* (*StudAeg* 5). Budapest 1979.

Amun temples of all these centres.[28] The multiple coronation of the king seems to preserve the memory of the unification of the land on the level of the myth of the state (cf. Chapter 4.9), reflecting at the same time the governmental practice of an ambulatory kingship.[29] Finally the vague notion of a "typically Nilotic culture" does not describe at all the richness and complexity of Nubian culture between the eighth century BC and Herodotus' time. Altogether, what is a "typically Nilotic culture"? David Asheri's description of the Kingdom of Meroe as "stretching along the two banks of the river as far as the desert sand-dunes" is similarly off the mark.

The last decades witnessed a spectacular renaissance of Herodotean scholarship.[30] Weaknesses such as the ignorance of the assessment of lands and peoples discussed or mentioned by Herodotus *as paradigms*, that is, *not for their own sake*, continue nevertheless to represent blind spots in the image of Herodotus' world as it comes into sight in scholarly comments on the *Histories*. In this study Herodotus' two Aithiopias are revisited with the intention to confront them with the "real" world of ancient Nubia as it may be perceived in the early 2000s. I do not intend, however, to present a source-critical study that would attempt to exploit the Aithiopian passages in order to construe partisan arguments for or against Herodotus' trustworthiness (cf. Chapter 1.2).

2 Herodotus Halfway between Egyptology and Nubian Studies

> Herodotus' generally acceptable record on Egypt and a forgivable lapse concerning the [Ai]thiopians (...)[31]

28 For divergent interpretations of the evidence, see, e.g., S. Wenig: Kommentar zu Török: Ambulatory Kingship and Settlement History. A Study on the Contribution of Archaeology to Meroitic History. in: Bonnet (ed.) 1992 137–140; A. Lohwasser: Die Darstellung der kuschitischen Krönung. in: D. Kurth (ed.): *3. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung. Systeme und Programme der ägyptischen Tempeldekoration*. Wiesbaden 1995 163–185; Lohwasser 2000; 2001.

29 L. Török: Ambulatory Kingship and Settlement History. A Study on the Contribution of Archaeology to Meroitic History. in: Bonnet (ed.) 1992 111–126.

30 For the literature, see C. Dewald–J. Marincola: A Selective Introduction to Herodotean Studies in: D. Boedeker–J. Peradotto (eds): *Herodotus and the Invention of History* (*Arethusa* 20). Buffalo 1987 9–40 and see the other studies in the same volume. See also F. Bubel: *Herodot-Bibliographie 1980–88*. Hildesheim 1991; Harrison 2000; Thomas 2000; Luraghi 2001a; Bakker–de Jong–van Wees (eds) 2002; Karageorghis–Taifacos (eds) 2004; Dewald–Marincola 2006; Asheri–Lloyd–Corcella 2007 xvi–xliii; Rollinger et al. (eds) 2011, etc.

31 Lateiner 1989 268.

Preceding the first enlargement of the original Aswan Dam,[32] in the first systematic record of the monuments and archaeological sites of Lower Nubia,[33] the archaeologist Arthur Weigall added the following remark to his description of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple at Amada:[34]

> On the roof of the temple there are a few Coptic inscriptions of no interest. There is here an interesting forgery probably dating from the Middle Ages. It is a Greek inscription reading "*Herodotus of Halicarnassus beheld and admired*" and near it in a later style of writing is "*No he did not*".[35]

It was with reference to Weigall that some years later also Henri Gauthier's detailed publication of the reliefs and inscriptions of the temple mentioned the Herodotus graffito as a "fameuse inscription grecque, datant du moyen âge, et relative à une prétendue visite à Amada d'Hérodote d'Halicarnasse".[36] Neither Weigall nor Gauthier did provide a facsimile or photograph of the two inscriptions, however. Their text is known only from Weigall's English translation. No doubt, the inscription with Herodotus' name followed the Ptolemaic- and Roman-period visitor-inscription type containing the visitor's name and the statement εἶδον καὶ ἐθαύμασα, "I beheld and I admired". Hundreds of inscriptions of this type are known from the *syringai*,[37] i.e., the monumental tombs of the Valley of the Kings at Thebes West, which belonged to the greatest tourist

32 Built 1898–1902, first enlarged 1908–1910. Cf. Adams 1977 71.

33 Between the First Cataract and the Sudan frontier, 1907–1911. Cf. Weigall 1907; G.A. Reisner: *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia Report for 1907–1908* I. *Archaeological Report*. Cairo 1910; C.M. Firth: *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia. Report for 1908–1909*. Cairo 1912; id.: *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia. Report for 1909–1910*. Cairo 1915; id.: *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia. Report for 1910–1911*. Cairo 1927.

34 *PM* VII 65–73; Weigall 1907 102–107; Gauthier 1913; L. Borchardt: *Ägyptische Tempel mit Umgang*. Kairo 1938 41–44; P. Barguet–H. El-Achirie–M. Dewachter et al.: *Le temple d'Amada*. Le Caire 1967; Arnold 1992 82; Török 2009 223 ff.

35 Weigall 1907 106 (my italics).

36 Gauthier 1913 xxx.—The graffiti are not visible in the photographs taken in 1908–1910 by the members of the Prussian Nubia expedition under the direction of H. Schäfer and H. Junker. For their photographs documenting inscriptions on the roof of the Amada temple, see H. Beinlich: *Die Photos der preussischen Expedition 1908–1910 nach Nubien. Photos 600–799* (*Studien zu den Ritualszenen altägyptischer Tempel* 17). Dettelbach 2012, photos 734–738.

37 Greek name for the royal tombs given on account of their resemblance to the *syrinx* or Pan flute.

attractions of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt.[38] The visit to the royal tombs of the Valley of the Kings was obligatory for the nineteenth-century tourist as well.

The dating of the Amada graffiti to the Middle Ages remains of course a conjecture. I prefer to date a hoax of this type to the nineteenth century, picturing a party of high-spirited scholars visiting the monuments of Egypt and Nubia or else some well-educated young gentlemen on their Grand Tour travelling along the Nile with the respectful expectation that they find remains of things described by Herodotus, Strabo, Diodorus, Pliny and other ancient writers,[39] but at the same time gaily mocking their guides' priggish habit of elevating the value of a site or monument by directly associating it with some famous personality of antiquity.

Also another intention may be attributed to the hypothetical hoaxer(s). The southernmost place in Egypt that Herodotus claims to have visited is Elephantine.[40] Amada lies further 200 km south of Elephantine in a region where Herodotus certainly did not go. The sarcasm of a faked exchange between the Father of History recording his visit to Amada and his admiration of its temple and the anonymous author of the other graffito who sneeringly denies that he could ever go there implies that the actual writer(s) of the two inscriptions was (were) well aware of the perennial debate around Herodotus' trustworthiness. However frivolously, the author(s) of the graffiti addressed the principal dilemma that dominated the *Nachleben* of the *Histories* from antiquity to the late twentieth century.[41]

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38 Cf. J. Baillet: *Insciptions grecques et latines des Tombeaux des Rois ou Syringes* I–III. Le Caire 1920–1927; A. Bataille: *Les Memnonia: Recherches de papyrologie et d'épigraphie grecque sur la nécropole de la Thèbes d'Égypte aux époques hellénistiques et romaine*. Le Caire 1952. For the visitors of the Theban tombs in the Graeco-Roman period, see recently A. Łajtar: The Theban Region under the Roman Empire. in: Riggs (ed.) 2012 171–188 183 ff.

39 For the intellectual background of the early travellers, cf. B.J. Peterson: Swedish Travellers in Egypt during the Period 1700–1850. *OAth* 7 (1967) 14–16; F.W. Hinkel: Otto Friedrich von Richters Reise in Unternubien im Jahre 1815. *AoF* 19 (1992) 230–246; Török 1997a 7 ff.; P. Usick: *William John Bankes' Collection of Drawings and Manuscripts Relating to Ancient Nubia*. London 1998; D. Manley–P. Ree: *Henry Salt Artist, Diplomat, Egyptologist*. London 2001; P. Usick: *Adventures in Egypt and Nubia. The Travels of William John Bankes (1788–1855)*. London 2002; Reid 2002 21 ff.; Török 2011c; H. Goren: *Dead Sea Level. Science, Exploration and Imperial Interests in the Near East*. New York 2011.

40 2.29. For the place of Egypt's southern border in Herodotus' time, see Török 2009 364 ff.

41 Momigliano 1958/1966; J.A.S. Evans: Father of History or Father of Lies: The Reputation of Herodotus. *CJ* 64 (1968) 11–17.

The debate about the veracity of the *Histories* started with Thucydides,[42] Ctesias,[43] Hecataeus of Abdera[44] and Manetho[45] and was continued by Cicero,[46] Diodorus,[47] Plutarch,[48] Aelius Aristides,[49] Aelius Harpocration,[50] Libanius[51] and many others.[52] It was vehemently revived by early nineteenth-century scholars,[53] among them authorities such as (Sir) John Gardner Wilkinson, the leading British Egyptologist of his generation,[54] or the eminent classicist George Rawlinson. The mention of these two scholars is of course intentional here. Wilkinson visited Nubia several times. In the event, in 1821–1822 he thoroughly studied the temple of Amada.[55] In his *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* he made critical remarks on Herodotus' credibility.[56] It was in collaboration with Gardner Wilkinson that George Rawlinson published a commented English translation of the *Histories* between 1858 and 1861.[57]

42 Thucydides 1.21.1; 1.22.4; 2.41.4.

43 *FGrHist* 688 T 8, cf. Hornblower 2006 310; Asheri 2007a 51.

44 In Diodorus 1.69.7.

45 *FGrHist* 3a 3C T 7a.

46 Cicero, *De Divinatione* 2.56.116.

47 Diodorus 1.69.7, cf. Hornblower 2006 313.

48 Plutarch, *De malignitate Herodoti*, cf. Hornblower 2006 316; Baragwanath 2008 9–22.

49 Aelius Aristides, *Or*. 36.41–52.

50 Cf. Cameron 2004 156.

51 R. Foerster (ed.): *Libanii opera*. Leipzig 1903–1927, cf. A. Momigliano: *The Classical Foundations of Modern Historiography*. Los Angeles 1990 39 f.

52 See Momigliano 1958/1966 and cf. A.K. Riemann: *Das herodotische Geschichtswerk in der Antike*. Diss. München 1967 (*non vidi*, quoted by Asheri 2007a 50 ff.); Kaiser 1968 224 f.

53 For the reception of Herodotus in the fifteenth to nineteenth centuries, see, e.g., H. Stephano: Apologia pro Herodoto, sive Herodoti Historia fabulositatis accusata. in: *Herodoti Halicarnassei Hisoriae Libri IX et de vita Homeri libellus; Illi ex interpretatione* Laurentio Vallae *adscripta, hic ex interpretatione* Conradi Heresbachij: *utraque ab* Henrico Stephano *recognita*. Francofurti 1620 17–67; S. Kipf: *Herodot als Schulautor*. Köln 1999; Asheri 2007a 53 f.; A. Olivieri: *Erodoto nel Rinascimento: L'umano e la storia*. Roma 2004, all with further literature.

54 On Wilkinson, see J. Thompson: *Sir John Gardner Wilkinson and His Circle*. Austin 1992; Reid 2002 42 ff.

55 Cf. G. Wilkinson: *Modern Egypt and Thebes* II. London 1843 321 f.; *PM* VII 65 ff. Wilkinson's largely unpublished Nubian drawings and notes are kept in the Bodleian Library, Oxford: drawings MS. Wilkinson dep. a. 14, fol. 28–30, 55–56; dep. a. 16, fol. 22^{v}; journals and sketchbooks MS. Wilkinson dep. d. 9, 29, 43, 47, 60.

56 G. Wilkinson: *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*. London 1837–1841 II 353.

57 G. Rawlinson, *in collaboration with* Sir Henry Rawlinson *and* Sir John Gardner Wilkinson: *The History of Herodotus*. London 1858–1861 (see esp. *ad* 2.28).

Both of them are feasible candidates for the authorship of the Amada inscriptions.

Before the 1970s, Herodotus' work was studied mainly as a historical source. In the late nineteenth century and the larger part of the twentieth, the great majority of the students of the *Histories*, partisans as well as deniers of Herodotus' trustworthiness, approached it with the methods of traditional *Quellenforschung*.[58] In the late nineteenth–early twentieth centuries, source-critical studies received a new impetus from archaeology, the increasingly refined methods of which enabled the archaeologist to answer historical questions.[59] With the spectacular development of Egyptology, the students of Book II, the Egyptian *logos*,[60] were supplied with a rapidly growing evidence to sustain the confrontation of Herodotus' Egypt with the land on the Nile "as it must have existed in reality". Besides contributions to mainstream *Quellenkritik*, however, from the 1930s there appeared sporadic studies discussing aspects of the wider intellectual context of the Egyptian and Aithiopian information embedded in the *Histories*. I refer here first of all to pioneering works published by Hadas,[61] Säve-Söderbergh,[62] Lesky,[63] and Herminghausen.[64]

Herodotus' "dual identity, father of history and father of lies",[65] divided nineteenth- and twentieth-century writers into two uncompromising camps. Scepticism ranged from doubts concerning the reality of individual data or stories in the *Histories* to a complete denial of the reliability of the Father of History. At the turn of the nineteenth century, the eminent Egyptologist Francis Llewellyn Griffith doubted if Herodotus went at all to Egypt.[66] Eighty years later, Kimball Armayor would have similar doubts.[67] Detlev Fehling argues even more radically in his emblematic *Die Quellenangaben bei Herodot*.[68] Maintaining that Herodotus' source-citations are nothing other than pure inventions,

58 Cf. Jacoby 1913 419–467; Herminghausen 1964.

59 Cf. B.G. Trigger: *A History of Archaeological Thought*. Cambridge 1989 148 ff.

60 For the term λόγος, "oral report", "story", "prose text", see Chapter 3.1 and cf. de Jong 2002 255. For the definition of *logos* as a self-contained story, cf. Jacoby 1913 330 f.

61 M. Hadas: Utopian Sources in Herodotus. *CPh* 30 (1935) 113–121.

62 T. Säve-Söderbergh: Zu den äthiopischen Episoden bei Herodot. *Eranos* 44 (1946) 68–80.

63 Lesky 1959.

64 Herminghausen 1964.

65 Kwintner 1994.

66 F.Ll. Griffith in: D.G. Hogarth (ed.): *Authority and Archaeology, Sacred and Profane*. London 1899 187, quoted by Armayor 1978 59. But see also F.Ll. Griffith: *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis. The Sethon of Herodotus and The Demotic Tales of Khamuas*. Oxford 1900.

67 Armayor 1978.

68 Fehling 1971. English edn.: Fehling 1989.

devices of a writer of fiction, Fehling concludes that most of Herodotus' travels are fictitious: While it cannot be entirely excluded that Herodotus visited Lower Egypt,[69] he certainly did not go to Upper Egypt:[70]

> A man who gives a wildly wrong length of time for the route from Heliopolis to Thebes, who declares that Egypt becomes broader again after four days' travel up river from Heliopolis (2.8.3), whose measurement for the narrowest part of the Nile valley would make it over fifty percent wider than the actual breadth of long stretches of the valley, who thinks Elephantine is a city and not an island and imagines that the city of Syene[71] is further away, and who, on the other hand, does not offer a single correct detail on any locality whatsoever and says not a word about the monuments of Thebes—this man has never been in Upper Egypt, even if a conceivable explanation can be found for every statement he makes.[72]

While we must agree with Fehling that in fact Herodotus *did not go to Elephantine*, it can hardly be denied that Herodotus (like Hecataeus of Miletus before him[73]) went indeed to Egypt[74] some time in the later reign of Artaxerxes I (465–424 BC), more precisely after the defeat of the Inaros revolt (*c.* 463/2–449 BC).[75] Yet while Fehling's criticism of the methods and views of traditional

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69 Cf. also Armayor 1985.

70 Although Herodotus does not present any description of Thebes, the manner in which he mentions parts of the Karnak Amun temple or the scene of his encounter with the Theban priests in 2.143, where he is shown the statues of 341 generations of high priests, makes it rather probable that he visited the place. Cf. Lloyd 1988a 107 ff.; on genealogical representations of Egyptian priests in the Persian period, see Moyer 2002 78 ff.; Vittmann 2011 389 f.

71 Modern Aswan.

72 Fehling 1989 241 f., also quoted by Tormod Eide in his fine introduction to Herodotus' Aithiopian passages in *FHN* I 302–307.

73 Cf. Hdt. 2.142 f.; Lloyd 1988a 107 ff.; S. West: Herodotus' Portrait of Hecataeus. *JHS* 111 (1991) 174–190.

74 See recently Moyer 2002, and cf. C. Darbo-Peschansky: *Le discours du particulier: Essai sur l'enquête hérodotienne*. Paris 1987; Asheri 2007a 1 ff.—Herodotus cannot be labelled a "travel writer", however (cf. C. Blanton: *Travel Writing. The Self and the World*. New York-London 2002 1 ff.), see Dorati 2011 273 ff.—For (failed) attempts at the reconstruction of his travels, see, e.g., Jacoby 1913 248; G. Schepens: *L'"autopsie" dans la méthode des historiens grecs du Ve siècle avant J.-C.* Bruxelles 1980 52 f.; and cf. Dorati 2011 274 f.

75 Cf. D. Sansone: The Date of Herodotus' Publication. *ICS* 10 (1985) 1–9; J.A.S. Evans: Herodotus 9.73.3 and the Publication Date of the Histories. *CPh* 82 (1987) 226–228; Moyer

Quellenforschung cannot be fully substantiated,[76] one cannot fail to notice that Egyptological research continues to present newer and newer arguments for critics who question the quality of the information that was available to Herodotus in Egypt or dispute the accuracy of his personal observations. For example, recent scientific study of human remains resulted in a picture of medical conditions in post-pharaonic Egypt that radically contradicts Herodotus' assertion, viz., "next to the Libyans they (the Egyptians) are the healthiest people in the world" (2.77).[77] In fact, the historian's statement "is impossible to reconcile with evidence from antiquity or any other known historical period".[78]

Fehling's interpretation of the *Histories* as a literary work and his study of the rules that he identifies as characteristic Herodotean devices, namely, the "principle of citing the obvious source" and the "principle of respect for party bias", contributed to the growing criticism of traditional *Quellenforschung*.[79] As early as 1978 Armayor prompted an intertextual approach:

> Even if Herodotus did go to Egypt, we cannot go on indefinitely trying to account for what he found there on the basis of a simple-minded and confused autopsy. It is difficult to imagine a literary genius of wide and varied Greek learning confused enough to set down in full earnest the impressions of Egypt that we find here. And if he was not in earnest, we cannot go on treating his stories as serious evidence of fifth-century Egypt. Herodotus drew heavily on previous Greek traditions of the country when he came to build his narrative, and we must look to those traditions to account for it.[80]

Meanwhile, the traditional source-critical analysis of the Egyptian *logos* arrived at its peak in a series of masterly studies published by Alan Lloyd,[81] with the

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2002 79.—Herodotus on Inaros: 3.12, 15. Cf. M. Chauveau: Inarôs, prince des rebelles. in: F. Hoffmann–H.J. Thissen (eds): *Res severa verum gaudium. Festschrift für Karl Theodor Zauzich zum 65. Geburtstag am 8. Juni 2004* (*Studia Demotica* 6). Leuven 2004 39–46; Vittmann 2011 400.

76 Cf. Moyer 2002 72 ff.

77 Trans. de Sélincourt–Marincola 2003 125.

78 W. Scheidel: Age and Health. in: Riggs (ed.) 2012 305–316 313; cf. id.: *Death on the Nile: Disease and Demography of Roman Egypt*. Leiden-Boston-Köln 2001.

79 Cf. Luraghi 2001b.

80 Armayor 1978 71.

81 Lloyd 1975; 1976; 1988a. See also Lloyd 1988b; 1990; 2002; 2004; 2007.

three volumes of his *Herodotus Book II. Commentary* (1975–1988)—which also serve as the basis of his commentaries on Book II in the magnificent volume he published in 2007 in the company of David Asheri (Books I, III) and Aldo Corcella (Book IV)—among them.[82] The views of the sceptics were rebutted in vociferous studies such as Kendrick Pritchett's *Liar School of Herodotus*.[83] Still, the attraction of *Quellenforschung* was gradually fading away, and two new images of the author of the *Histories* began to take shape, viz., Herodotus the literary artist,[84] and Herodotus the earliest exemplar of an *Annales*-style[85] historian.[86] From the 1970s new developments in the study of the ideological backgrounds of ancient historiography and in cultural studies—especially in the anthropological and sociological reassessment of early classical culture[87] and in the study of orality[88]—brought about a further shift of focus in Herodotean scholarship. From a difficult subject of source criticism the *Histories* were turned into a literary work[89] through investigations into topics such as Homer's influence on Herodotus;[90] Herodotus' relation to orality and oral informants;[91]

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82 English edition of commentaries published first in Italian, see D. Asheri: *Erodoto. Le Storie. Libro I. La Lidia e la Persia*. Milano 1989; *Libro III. La Persia*. Milano 1991; A. Corcella: *Libro IV. La Sizilia e la Libia*. Milano 1993; G. Nenci: *Libro VI. La Battaglione di Maratone*. Milano 1999; A. Massaracchia: *Libro VIII. La Battaglia di Salamina*. Milano 1977; *Libro IX. La Sconfitta dei Persiani*. Milano 1979.

83 Pritchett 1993. See also H. Erbse: Fiktion und Wahrheit im Werke Herodots. in: *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen Philosophisch-historische Klasse 1991*. Göttingen 1991 131–150; id.: *Studien zum Verständnis Herodots*. Berlin-New York 1992.

84 Cf. R.V. Munson: *Telling Wonders: Ethnographic and Political Discourse in the Work of Herodotus*. Ann Arbor 2001; Dewald 2002; Gray 2002; de Jong 2002; I.J.F. de Jong: Herodotus. in: R. Nünlist–A.M. Bowie (eds): *Narrators, Narratees, and Narratives in Ancient Greek Literature* I. Leiden-Boston 2004 101–114; Dewald–Marincola 2006; Marincola 2006, etc. See also Emily Baragwanath's excellent study of Herodotus' representation of human motivation: Baragwanath 2008.

85 Harrison 2000 3, with reference to Immerwahr 1966 2.

86 For the views on the historian, see Harrison 2000 2 ff.

87 Cf. Hartog 1988, but see also Moyer 2002.

88 J. Vansina: *De la tradition orale. Essai de méthode historique*. Tervuren 1961; id.: *Oral Tradition as History*. Madison 1985. Cf. also M. Schuster: Zur Konstruktion von Geschichte in Kulturen ohne Schrift. in: J. von Ungern-Sternberg–H. Reinau (eds): *Vergangenheit in mündlicher Überlieferung*. Stuttgart 1988 55–71.

89 Dewald–Marincola (eds) 2006 Preface xiii; Dewald–Marincola 2006.

90 Cf. Marincola 2006; Baragwanath 2008 35 ff.

91 Cf. Murray 2001; Fowler 2001; Luraghi 2001b; C. Dewald: Humour and Danger in Herodotus. in: Dewald–Marincola (eds) 2006 145–164; Fowler 2006; Griffiths 2006; Luraghi 2006.

the impact of poetry,[92] prose,[93] and tragedy[94] on his work; or his use of written sources.[95]

As a tradition, studies on the *Histories* comment on the Aithiopian passages from the viewpoint of the Egyptian *logos*, the study of which is considered, again as a tradition, to be the special task of Egyptologists. *Der Äthiopenlogos bei Herodot*, published in 1979 by Inge Hofmann and Anton Vorbichler,[96] represents a welcome breach with this practice. Hofmann and Vorbichler interpreted Chapters 17–26 of Book III taking into consideration the archaeological research conducted in Nubia up to the mid-1970s. Response arrived, however, mainly to their rather eccentric interpretation of the supposed "mythological genre" of the narrative in 2.17–26.[97]

In 1981 Stanley Burstein[98] confronted more recent archaeological work at the city of Meroe with the curious "source-critical" identification of "the Table of the Sun" (3.18, see here Chapter 4.8) suggested before World War I by the original excavators of the site[99] and uncritically repeated ever since.[100] Burstein's denial of the historicity of the Table of the Sun found no way into Herodotean studies. As for Nubian Studies, Herodotus either continued to be quoted with old-fashioned "source-critical" piety or was passionately refuted as a historical source. As a rather unfortunate compromise, in studies published in the late 1980s on the textual sources relating to the political history of ancient Nubia[101] and the history of the Meroitic period,[102] the present writer took a critical view of both Lloyd's acceptance of the Aithiopian passages and Hofmann and Vorbichler's hypercritical attitude. As it will be shown in later chapters of this book, I was decidedly wrong in some of my conclusions. Others sounded somewhat better:

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92 Marincola 2006.

93 Fowler 2006.

94 Griffin 2006.

95 Cf. Fowler 2001; Giangiulio 2001; van Wees 2002 332; Hornblower 2002 374 f.; Osborne 2002 510 ff.; Luraghi 2006.

96 Hofmann–Vorbichler 1979.

97 For critical remarks, see Desanges 1992 366.

98 S.M. Burstein: Herodotus and the Emergence of Meroe. in: Burstein 1995 155–164 (originally published: *JSSEA* 11 [1981]).

99 J. Garstang–A.H. Sayce–F.Ll. Griffith: *Meroe City of the Ethiopians*. Oxford 1911 25–27.

100 E.g., A.J. Arkell: *A History of the Sudan. From the Earliest Times to 1821*. London 1955 (2nd rev. edn. 1961) 150; Shinnie 1967 15 f.; Lloyd 1976 124; Adams 1977 294.

101 Török 1986 15 ff., 188 ff.

102 Török 1988 125–129.

> [D]er Rahmen, in den Herodot gelegentlich reale Informationen über Kusch einfügte, eine politisch-moralisch akzentuierte Ideologie des *ägyptischen* Königtums war, die er in Ägypten von seinen priesterlichen Informanten kennengelernt hatte. Es lässt sich nicht feststellen (…) ob er im Äthiopenlogos die ägyptische Königsideologie deshalb mit den ethnischen Vorstellugen der Äthiopen verbunden hat, weil er in Ägypten im Zusammenhang mit der alten Königsideologie auch vom Lob der frommen äthiopischen Könige der 25. Dynastie gehört hatte.[103]

In a paper presented in 1992 at the Seventh International Congress for Meroitic Studies[104] Burstein warned the students of ancient Nubia once more against extreme expectations concerning the source value of the Aithiopian passages:

> [C]lassical sources must be considered to be of limited value as evidence for the reconstruction of the internal history of Nubia in the early first millennium B.C. The relatively late date of the beginning of significant Greek contact with Nubia, the predominantly military character of that contact,[105] and the Egyptocentric orientation of Greek historiography on Aithiopia all combined to focus the interest of Greek historians on the recovery of the history of relations between Egypt and Nubia rather than the development of the Napatan state.[106] Herodotus' post-dating of the Egyptianization of "Napatan" culture to the reign of Psamtek I (Herodotus 2.30.4–5) is indicative of the true state of his knowledge of the internal history of Napata.[107]

The response arriving from Herodotean studies to the commentaries on the Aithiopian passages included into Volume I (1994) of the *Fontes Historiae*

103 Török 1988 125 f.

104 S.M. Burstein: The Origins of the Napatan State in Classical Sources. in: Wenig (ed.) 1999 118–126. It was, however, a revised version of this paper that was first published: Burstein 1995 29–39.

105 Burstein formed his view of Meroe's cultural contacts with post-pharaonic Egypt on the basis of a now completely obsolete periodisation of Hellenizing art in Meroe in which hardly any genre or monument was dated before the Roman period. For the literature on the more recent assessment of Hellenizing art in Meroe and its chronology between the third century BC and the AD second-third century, see Török 2011a.

106 Burstein 1995 36.

107 Burstein 1995 39 note 36.

Nubiorum[108] was less than slight.[109] Similar to the publication in 1997 of the large-scale excavations conducted before World War I at the city of Meroe,[110] the commentaries published in *FHN* I, too, are ignored not only in Alan Lloyd's more recent studies, in which he summarizes earlier research on the Egyptian *logos* and the Aithiopian passages,[111] but also in David Asheri's commentaries on Book III.[112] Besides Nubian bibliographies compiled before 1983, Asheri refers to a random selection of general histories[113] and to some papers discussing detail problems.[114] Referring to textual evidence from Kush, Asheri quotes E.A.W. Budge's *The Egyptian Sudan, Its History and Monuments* published in 1907. Actually, Budge published English translations of the hieroglyphic inscriptions of the kings of Kush known at that time in another book.[115] As to his biased general history quoted by Asheri, it became obsolete in 1949 at the latest[116] when M.F.L. Macadam published his magisterial monograph[117] on the hieroglyphic inscriptions discovered in 1929–1931 in the Amun temple at Kawa.[118]

Generations of *Quellenforscher* turned with great confidence to the *Histories* as a historical source. They were prepared to identify realistic historical information not only in the *logoi* about the Persian expansion but also in accounts of peripheral regions and peoples like Aithiopia and the Aithiopians. The recognition of Herodotus' fine perception of Greek history[119] was extended over

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108 *FHN* I 312–331, Nos 56–66.

109 But see the positive reaction of, e.g., J.G. Manning, *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 1996. 04. 03.

110 Török 1997b.

111 Lloyd 2002, 2004, 2007.

112 Asheri 2007c.

113 Shinnie 1967; 1978; O'Connor 1993; Shinnie 1996; Welsby 1996.

114 Asheri 2007c 417 lists Török 1998 (with wrong page numbers) as an overview of recent research, but does not use the up-to-date bibliography presented, and commented on, in it.

115 E.A.W. Budge: *Annals of Nubian Kings*. London 1912.

116 Cf. Leclant–Yoyotte 1949; Leclant–Yoyotte 1952.

117 Macadam 1949. For the history of the academic access to the hieroglyphic Egyptian documents from Kush, see J. Leclant: Les textes d'époque éthiopienne. in: *Textes et langages de l'Égypte pharaonique* II. Le Caire 1973 123–135; Grimal 1981a, 1981b; *FHN* I, II; C. Peust: *Das Napatanische. Ein ägyptischer Dialekt aus dem Nubien des späten ersten vorchristlichen Jahrtausends. Texte, Glossar, Grammatik*. Göttingen 1999; Zibelius-Chen 2011; and cf. F. Breyer: Die meroitische Sprachforschung. Gegenwärtiger Stand und richtungsweisende Ansätze. *MittSAG* 23 (2012) 117–149.

118 For the temple, see Macadam 1955.

119 Cf. Forsdyke 2002.

narratives such as the passage on the long-lived Aithiopians, their customs and traditions and the marvels of their land (3.17–26, here Chapter 2, Text 7, cf. Chapters 4.8–9). The present examination of the "historicity" of the Aithiopian passages follows the path of traditional *Quellenforschung* only insofar as I attempt to apply source criticism against the background of an early twenty-first-century perception of ancient Nubia. While presenting my source-critical considerations, however, I shall try not to lose sight of the *Histories* as a *text*, the interpretation of which can only gain by forming a more reliable idea of the relationship between the Nubian information that Herodotus could actually acquire and the two Aithiopias which he fashioned with (or without) their use.

3 Excursus 1: The Kingdom of Kush from the Eighth to the Fifth Century BC. A Brief Overview

In this chapter an outline of the political history of the Kingdom of Kush from the early Twenty-Fifth Dynasty period to the fifth century BC will be added to the brief remarks made in Chapter 1.1 on the Egyptian domination in Nubia and the emergence of the post-New Kingdom native Kingdom of Kush.

From the reign of Sheshonq III (825–773 BC) of the Twenty-Second Dynasty (945–715 BC) an increasing number of local rulers (first of all Lower Egyptian ones) became autonomous in Egypt and adopted the title of king. By the middle of the eighth century BC Egypt was politically in a state of extreme fragmentation. Unlike the First and Second Intermediate Periods, however, this time the political fragmentation of Egypt was not described as a fall into Chaos. The essentially important political *fiction* of an undivided kingdom was maintained with the help of the ideology of Amun's direct regency.[120] Posteriority remembered the Third Intermediate Period as a polyarchy based on dynastic relationships and concordats[121] (Herodotus' δυώδεκα βασιλέας, "rule of twelve kings", "*dodecarchy*", 2.147–148, 151–152[122]). Besides Amun's direct regency, this seems to have been the result of the successful economic-governmental functioning of the smaller units that resolved the collapsed central administration of the late New Kingdom. With a civil war starting in Year 15 (*c.* 836 BC) of Takelot II (850–825 BC) of the Twenty-Second Dynasty,[123] however, the political

120 Cf. Römer 1994 78 ff.

121 Assmann 1996 319 ff.

122 Cf. Kitchen 1996 § 358; Lloyd 2007 347.

123 Cf. D.A. Aston: Takeloth II—A King of the "Theban Twenty-Third Dynasty"? *JEA* 75 (1989) 139–153.

disintegration of Egypt took a decisive turn.[124] The war resulted in the expulsion of the Twenty-Second Dynasty from Thebes and the emergence of the Theban Twenty-Third Dynasty (*c.* 818–715 BC).

By the middle of the eighth century BC Kush was powerful enough to get involved in the efforts made at the reunification of the politically fragmented Egypt of the Third Intermediate Period.[125] Encouraged by the Theban high priesthood and probably with the consent of the Twenty-Third Dynasty, some time in the second quarter of the eighth century BC King Kashta of Kush (*c.* 775–755 BC) appeared in Upper Egypt.[126] The reigning Theban God's Wife of Amun adopted his daughter into the office of the God's Wife of Amun Elect.[127] The institution of the Divine Adoratrice, or God's Wife of Amun of Thebes, emerged from the function of the New Kingdom great royal wife as priestess of the royal cult and vehicle for legitimate succession in her double quality as mother and wife of the king, who, in turn, was regarded son of the god and at the same time son of his bodily father. The adoption was an important vehicle of the royal legitimacy of the Divine Adoratrice's father.[128] A peaceful overture is also suggested by the fact that in the second half of the eighth and the first half of the seventh centuries BC the descendants of Osorkon III, Takelot III, and Rudamun of the Twenty-Third Dynasty continued to enjoy a high social status in Thebes and were buried there.[129]

Kashta's son and successor Piankhy declared himself ruler of Egypt in his early reign and carried out military actions against Lower Egyptian polities hostile to Thebes.[130] It remains unknown if, and to what extent, Piankhy realized

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124 Cf. H. Jacquet-Gordon, review of the first (1972) edn. of Kitchen 1996. *BiOr* 32 (1975) 358–360.

125 Cf. Taylor 2000.

126 He appears on the dedication stela fragment Cairo JE 41013 found at Elephantine as *Nsw-bỉty Ny-Mꜣꜥt-Rꜥ Sꜣ-Rꜥ Nb-Tꜣwy Kꜣ-š-ṯ,* "The King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt, He-who-belongs-to-Re's Order, Son-of-Re, Lord-of-Two-Lands, Kashta". Trans. R.H. Pierce in: *FHN* I No. 4.

127 For the evidence, see *FHN* I Nos (3), 4; Ayad 2009 11 ff.; and cf. G.P.F. Broekman: Once Again the Piankhy-blocks from the Temple of Mut at Karnak. *CdÉ* 87 (2012) 233–258.

128 See, with literature, Troy 1986 103 ff. For the political significance of the God's Wife of Amun, see M. Gitton–J. Leclant: Gottesgemahlin. *LÄ* II (1977) 792–812; E. Graefe: *Untersuchungen zur Verwaltung und Geschichte der Gottesgemahlin des Amun vom Beginn des Neuen Reiches bis zur Spätzeit*. Wiesbaden 1981; Ayad 2009.

129 For the evidence, see D.A. Aston–J.H. Taylor: The Family of Takeloth III and the "Theban Twenty-third Dynasty". in: Leahy (ed.) 1990 131–154.

130 For the evidence, see *FHN* I Nos 8, 10; Török 1997a 144 ff.

the threat represented by the advance of the Assyrians towards Lower Egypt. It had to be realized to its full extent by his successors. Let us see the developments in some detail.

In 745 BC Tiglath-Pileser III usurped the throne of Assyria. In the course of the subsequent decade he incorporated much of Syria into the Assyrian empire and occupied territories in Israel.[131] In 732 BC he conquered Gaza, where he appointed the chief of an Arab tribe as "vassal gatekeeper over Egypt".[132] Tefnakht, an ambitious Lower Egyptian local ruler, first "chief of the *Me*(*shwesh*)" (*c*. 740–735 BC), later[133] king of Sais (*c*. 735–720 BC),[134] viewed the Assyrian advance from a close distance. He recognized it as a parallel to the Kushite advance from the south and thus one of the principal factors that determined his own policy of expansion.[135]

Tefnakht extended his control first over the western Delta and the area of Memphis, then made advances towards Upper Egypt. In his Year 19 (*c*. 736 BC) Piankhy received the news at Napata that Tefnakht and his allies had besieged Heracleopolis,[136] the city of Piankhy's ally Peftjauawybast; and then he also learnt that Nimlot of Hermopolis,[137] another ally of his, had defected to Tefnakht.[138] The ensuing events are recorded in Piankhy's *Great Triumphal Stela* erected in his Year 21 (*c*. 734 BC) in the great Amun temple at Napata.[139] First the king sent his troops stationed in Upper Egypt north to recapture Hermopolis and also dispatched an army from Kush; then, after defeats suffered at Heracleopolis, he decided to lead an army to Egypt himself. He left Napata in his Year 20 (*c*. 735 BC) after the celebration of the rites of the New Year and arrived three months later at Thebes to celebrate there the Opet Festival.[140] As a result of

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131 M. Liverani: The Growth of the Assyrian Empire in the Habur/Middle Euphrates Area: A New Paradigm. *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin* 2 (1988) 81–98; J.N. Postgate: The Land of Assur and the Yoke of Assur. *World Archaeology* 23 (1991–1992) 247–263; A.K. Grayson: Assyrian Rule of Conquered Territory. in: J.M. Sasson (ed.): *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*. New York 1995 959–968.

132 Onasch 1994 5 f.

133 After the end of the campaign of Piankhy, cf. Kahn 2006b 60.

134 For Tefnakht, see Kitchen 1996 362 ff.

135 Redford 1992 346 ff.

136 Modern Ihnasiya el-Medina.

137 Modern el-Ashmunein.

138 Cf. Kahn 1998.

139 Cairo JE 48862, 47086–47089, Grimal 1981a; *FHN* I No. 9; cf. also J. Assmann: Die Piye (Pianchy) Stele: Erzählung als Medium politischer Repräsentation. in: H. Roeder (ed.): *Das Erzählen in frühen Hochkulturen* I. *Der Fall Ägypten*. München 2009 221–236.

140 Cf. W.J. Murnane: Opetfest. *LÄ* IV (1981) 574–579.

the subsequent military campaign, the local rulers accepted Piankhy's authority over Egypt. After the campaign Piankhy withdrew to Napata, his Nubian capital (cf. Chapter 4.4), where he died in *c.* 721 BC.

The conquest of Samaria around 720 BC[141] and subsequent interventions in Transjordania represented a momentous step in the Assyrian advance towards the Egyptian Delta. Conflicts with Lower Egyptian local rulers and the Assyrian advance made it a necessity to transfer to the north the capital and royal residence of the vast double kingdom of Kush and Egypt, which extended from Memphis to remote Napata, i.e., from the Nile Delta to the Fifth Cataract. To judge by his titulary,[142] Piankhy's successor Shabaqo (*c.* 721–707/706 BC) decided at his accession on an Egypto-centric policy and set up his court at Memphis, Egypt's ancient capital.[143] Shabaqo's successors, Shebitqo and Taharqo, would similarly rule their double kingdom from Memphis.[144]

It would be ahistorical to suppose that the Kushites had, but missed, the option of a brutally consequent unification of Egypt with the removal of all local rulers. Anyway, the inherent dangers of the political fragmentation became manifest in Shebitqo's reign when the integrity of the central government received the first blows from the Assyrians. In support of Judah and an anti-Assyrian coalition of Phoenician and Philistine cities formed in 704–703 BC, Shebitqo decided to meet the army of Sennacherib. Though in 701 BC Sennacherib's forces at Eltekeh beat the Egyptian-Kushite army,[145] Sennacherib nevertheless retreated first to Philistia and then to Assyria, while Shebitqo's army returned to Egypt. The battle at Eltekeh could thus be interpreted as a victory for the double kingdom.

Taharqo's donation lists[146] record the arrival in Nubia of precious Asiatic goods in Years 8 and 10, which attests to trade contacts and possibly military

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141 Cf. Onasch 1994 5 ff.

142 Horus-, *Nebty*- and Golden Horus names uniformly *Sb(ꜣ)q-tꜣwy*, "He-Who-blesses-Two-lands", in the style of Old- and Middle Kingdom titularies; Throne name *Nfr-kꜣ-Rꜥ*, "Re-is-One-whose-*ka*-is-beautiful" (cf. Pepy II, Dyn. 6; Rameses IX, Dyn. 20; and Amenemnisu, Dyn. 21). *FHN* I No. (12).

143 The adoption of the Throne name of Pepy II indicates that Shabaqo's titulary was composed at Memphis.—For Shabaqo's motive in restoring Memphis as Egypt's capital: Assmann 2011 274 f.—For Memphis as Egypt's capital in the Old Kingdom, cf. Zivie 1982.

144 A recent study argues for the sequence Shebitqo-Shabaqo, see M. Bányai: Ein Vorschlag zur Chronologie der 25. Dynastie in Ägypten. *Journal of Egyptian History* 6 (2013) 46–129.

145 Kitchen 1996 385 note 815; Redford 1992 353, 356.

146 Macadam 1949, inscriptions Kawa III, Copenhagen Æ.I.N. 1707 and Kawa VI, Khartoum 2679 (for the latter, see also *FHN* I No. 24).

undertakings in the Levant around 683–681 BC. The first blow that shattered the image of imperial prosperity arrived in Year 17, 674 BC, with the first attempt of Esarhaddon of Assyria (681–669 BC) at the conquest of Egypt.[147] Esarhaddon's first invasion could be fended off, however, in March 673 BC at the northeastern frontier. Taharqo regained control over Philistia.

A new Assyrian invasion force arrived in March/April 671 BC.[148] After battles fought in June/July at the frontier (?) in which, according to the *Senjirli Stela*,[149] Taharqo was also wounded, the Assyrians took Memphis from where Taharqo fled, probably to the south. Adopting the title of king of Egypt,[150] Esarhaddon appointed local kings, deputies and plenipotentiaries, in part Assyrian and in part Egyptian, in the occupied Lower Egyptian area.[151] The Assyrian vassals included almost all of the Lower Egyptian local dynasts.[152]

Esarhaddon set out with his army for Egypt again in 669 BC,[153] but he died en route.[154] He was probably going to react to the eventual reestablishment of Taharqo in Lower Egypt and Memphis.[155] Esarhaddon's successor Ashurbanipal (669–627 BC) invaded Egypt in 667/666 BC with devastating results.[156] Taharqo's Egypto-Kushite army was defeated,[157] whereupon the king abandoned his troops and fleet and fled from Memphis to Thebes. Pursuing him to Thebes the Assyrians did not encounter serious resistance and Taharqo was forced to retreat still farther south. Returning to Nineveh, Ashurbanipal left behind his vassals, among them Nekau I in Sais and Memphis and his son Psamtek (the later Psamtek I) in Athribis,[158] under the supervision of strong Assyrian army contingents. It may have been the manner in which they were handled by the Assyrian troops that made the vassal rulers of Sais, Mendes and

147 For the events between 673–663 BC, see Kahn 2004; 2006a.

148 *Esarhaddon Chronicle* No. 14, Onasch 1994 21.

149 Berlin Vorderasiatisches Museum VA 2708, D.D. Luckenbill: *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia* II. Chicago 1927 224 ff.

150 *EN.KUR.KUR* = *nb tꜣwy*, for the evidence, see Onasch 1994 35.

151 Tablet BM 121029, Onasch 1994 34. See also the *Ashurbanipal Annals*, Prism E III.6 ff.; ibid. 94 f.

152 See *Ashurbanipal Annals*, Prisms A and C, Onasch 1994 36 ff.

153 For the events after 673 BC, see Kahn 2006a.

154 *Babylonian Chronicle* No. 1, col. IV.30 f., Onasch 1994 18.

155 We only know that Taharqo's authority was acknowledged in Memphis in 667 BC, see Kahn 2006a 257 f.

156 For the complex evidence of the *Ashurbanipal Annals*, see Onasch 1994 61 ff.

157 Onasch 1994 38, 149.

158 Modern Tell Atrib.

Pelusium to change their opportunistic minds. In 665 BC they made new overtures to Taharqo who remained, however, in Kush, where he died in 664 BC.[159]

After receiving an oracular decree in the course of a temple *incubatio* announcing his divine birth as son of Amun and his legitimate kingship in Kush and Egypt (cf. Chapter 4.4), in 664 BC Taharqo's successor Tanwetamani sailed with his army north to Thebes.[160] Receiving legitimation from Amun of Karnak, Tanwetamani set about to reconquer Egypt from the Assyrians and their vassals. He reached Memphis without meeting opposition in Upper Egypt, which seems to reflect the strong support he received from the Divine Adoratrice and the Kushite dignitaries installed by his predecessors in Thebes. The seizure of Memphis and then the defeat of Sais crushed the resistance of some of the Delta dynasts while others withdrew into their fortresses, which apparently had not been attacked by Tanwetamani.

Receiving the formal surrender of a fraction of the local dynasts, Tanwetamani reinstalled them in their ancestral territories under the condition that his overlordship remained acknowledged.[161] In 664/663 BC the news of Tanwetamani's reoccupation of Memphis and the death of the Assyrian regent Nekau of Sais prompted Ashurbanipal to start an expedition to Egypt.[162] On Ashurbanipal's arrival at the Egyptian border Tanwetamani fled to Thebes. The Delta dynasts hastened to renew their status as Assyrian vassals. Ashurbanipal's army pursued Tanwetamani and laid siege to Thebes, from where Tanwetamani withdrew to Kush. The restoration of the dynasties of Nimlot in Hermopolis and Peftjauawybast in Heracleopolis indicates that the government established by the Assyrians after the horrible sack and burning of Thebes[163] was built on the basis of the power distribution prevailing in Piankhy's reign.[164] Psamtek I of Sais was recognised by the Assyrians as sole king of Egypt. During the course of the next nine years he was able to enforce the definitive submission of the rest of the northern dynasts and expel the Assyrian troops stationed in Egypt with the help of Gyges of Lydia.[165] In 656 BC, he finally was able to arrange for

159 Cf. Onasch 1994 151f.

160 Cf. Breyer 2003.

161 Tanwetamani's *Dream Stela*, Cairo JE 48863, Grimal 1981b Pls I–IV; *FHN* I No. 29.

162 For the evidence, see Onasch 1994 120ff., 156ff.; Kahn 2006a 264f.

163 With the sack and burning of Thebes the inconceivable happened: *Nahum* 1–3. The enormous shock caused by the experience of the vulnerability of Thebes greatly contributed to the eclipse of the ideology of Amun's direct kingship in Egypt, cf. Assmann 1996 373.

164 For the political geography of Egypt following Tanwetamani's withdrawal, see Kitchen 1996 395ff.

165 For the evidence, see Onasch 1994 158.

the adoption of his daughter Neith-iqeret (Nitocris) as God's Wife of Amun Elect by the then reigning Kushite Divine Adoratrice Shepenwepet II (Piankhy's daughter) and the God's Wife of Amun Elect Amonirdis II (Taharqo's daughter).[166]

Egyptian policy turned hostile towards Kush in the early reign of Psamtek II (595–589 BC), whose army attacked the Nubian kingdom in 593 BC (see Chapter 4.5 below). At this time King Aspelta occupied the throne of Kush.[167] Psamtek commemorated his campaign in stelae erected at Tanis in Lower Egypt, Karnak in Upper Egypt, and Shellal close to the traditional border between Kush and Egypt.[168] The Karnak and Shellal stelae name *ḫꜣst Pr-nbs,* the "hill-country of Pnubs (Kerma)" as the place where the Egyptian army won its final victory over the army of the king of Kush. According to the Tanis stela, the Egyptian army reached *Trgb* where "the residence of the *kwr* [i.e., the king of Kush[169]] is situated", then marched to the town of *Tꜣ dhnt* where the Kushite army was massacred.

Most writers on the campaign locate these place-names in the region of Napata-Sanam primarily because they associate the damaged royal statues found in two cachettes at the great Amun temple of Napata with the destruction of Napata by Psamtek's army. I have argued earlier that Psamtek's army reached only Sai (Tanis stela) or Kerma (Shellal and Karnak stelae).[170] Charles Bonnet and Dominique Valbelle see in the recently discovered statue cachette at Dokki Gel (Kerma) an argument for the destruction by Psamtek II's army of the Amun sanctuaries both at Dokki Gel and Napata.[171] In any case, Psamtek's army, if it reached Napata, must have taken the desert road leading from the Third to the Fourth Cataract region since, unlike Dokki Gel and Napata, the temples of Kawa escaped damages. Behind the legend of Cambyses' (525–522 BC) invasion of Nubia (here Chapter 2, Text 7, cf. Chapters 4.8, 9)—which is

166 R.A. Caminos: The Nitocris Adoption Stela. *JEA* 50 (1964) 71–101. For a new translation, see Manuelian 1994 297 ff. See also Ayad 2009 22 ff.

167 For Aspelta's monuments, see with further literature *FHN* I Nos (35)-40; Török 1997a 365 ff.; Bonnet–Valbelle 2005; Valbelle 2012.

168 Tanis: Cairo JE 67095, Karnak: *PM* II 37 (135), Sauneron–Yoyotte 1952; Shellal (set up now at New Kalabsha): *FHN* I No. 41. Cf. Manuelian 1994 333 ff.

169 *kwr* is an early form of the Meroitic word *qore*, "ruler", see F.Ll. Griffith: *Meroitic Inscriptions* II. *Napata to Philae and Miscellaneous*. London 1912 72 (Index s.v.). The word appears first around 1000 BC in the form *kꜣwꜣr* in the *Onomasticon of Amenemope*, cf. Rilly 2007 16.

170 *FHN* I 284 ff.

171 Bonnet–Valbelle 2005 164 ff.

also reflected in the later classical tradition according to which the Persian ruler conquered Meroe and gave the city its name[172]—we may suppose the memory of Psamtek II's Nubian expedition.[173]

Lower Nubia inevitably suffered serious damages during the conflict. The negative change in the Egyptian attitude towards Kush as a part of Egyptian history and as a neighbour was demonstrated not only by the military action, but also by the subsequent destruction of the names and special royal insignia of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty kings in their inscriptions and representations in Egypt.[174] The systematic *damnatio memoriae* intended not only the erasure of the political memory of the Kushite rulers of Egypt. It also aimed at the destruction of their existence in the other world. In general terms, it was a manifestation of a complete dissociation as well as a declaration of a state of hostility. It also may have been directed against the political ambitions of the Theban Amun priesthood, which preserved a positive memory of the Kushites[175] (cf. Chapter 5).

Except for names and titularies, no textual evidence is known from the reigns of the ten rulers who followed Aspelta on the throne of Kush.[176] Yet neither the archaeological evidence associated with them[177] nor their titularies give the impression of isolation or economic, political and cultural decline. Their pyramid tombs display an adherence to early post-Twenty-Fifth-Dynasty mortuary religion and burial customs. Political continuity is also indicated by the homogeneity of the royal necropolis. The royal titularies emphasize the concept of dynastic continuity from the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty.[178] The general lack of Horus,[179] *Nebty*, and Golden Horus names shows the influence of the

172 *FGrH* 3C1, 673 F 63; Lucius Ampelius, *Liber memorialis* 13: Burstein 1995 163 note 20.

173 Burstein 1995 155 ff.—The possibility of an actual military conflict in Cambyses' reign is suggested by Morkot 1991 327.

174 The names of the Nubian rulers of Egypt were erased from the walls of the temples and from their other monuments. The special Nubian regalia, such as the double uraeus distinguishing the Nubian diadem from the traditional Egyptian diadem or the royal necklace with pendants in the form of the head of the Nubian Amun, were chiselled out from the statues and reliefs representing the kings of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty. Cf. Yoyotte 1951; Sauneron–Yoyotte 1952 157 ff.; Russmann 1974 Appendix I No. 1, Appendix II Nos 5, 10, 13; Török 1987 7.

175 For the background, cf. Kienitz 1953 49 ff.; Lloyd 1982b.

176 For the evidence, see *FHN* I Nos (44)–(47), (49), (52)–(55); *FHN* II No. (67).

177 Cf. Dunham 1955; Török 1997a 375; 1997b 25 ff., 235 ff.

178 See the throne names of Analma'aye, *FHN* I No. (46), Amaniastabarqo, ibid. No. (52), Si'aspiqo, ibid. No. (53).

179 Except for Amaniastabarqo, *FHN* I No. (52).

reduced Egyptian titularies occurring with Psamtek III, the last Twenty-Sixth Dynasty king, and with most Persian kings of the Twenty-Seventh Dynasty,[180] rather than an independent departure from the five-part titulary in an attempt to create a non-Egyptian type of titularies and introduce titles indicating native traditions of rulership.

According to Herodotus (3.97, here Chapter 2, Text 8, cf. Chapter 4.10), the Kushites living south of the Egyptian border sent gifts to the king of Persia. While the Persian evidence depicts a vassal obliged to pay tribute, the reality was probably commercial/gift exchange, coloured of course by the actual Persian domination extending over Lower Nubia. In 7.69 (here Chapter II, Text 12, cf. Chapter 4.13) the historian gives a description of Aithiopian warriors originating from the southern confines of Kush fighting in Xerxes I's army. The Persian side of the gift exchange is represented by pottery finds. For instance, an Attic black sherd dated to the last quarter of the sixth century BC[181] indicates contact with Darius I's Egyptian court. "Kushiya" appears among the countries that provided ivory for Darius' palace at Susa and also figures as one of the "tribute"-bringers depicted in the reliefs from the *Apadana* at Persepolis (cf. Chapter 4.13). The Kingdom of Kush also appears in the lists of subjects of Darius and Xerxes I.[182] A fine Attic plastic rhyton made and signed around 470 BC by the potter Sotades and found under pyramid Beg. S. 24 at the city of Meroe[183] was produced—similarly to other vessels by Sotades—for a Persian clientele[184] and may be interpreted as a diplomatic gift sent to the king of Kush by Xerxes I's Egyptian satrap.[185] While Kush does not seem to have exploited the Egyptian revolt that occurred between Cambyses' death in 522 BC and 519/8 BC, the subsequent anti-Persian revolts between *c.* 486–484 BC

180 von Beckerath 1984 112 ff.

181 Bradley 1984 199.

182 Posener 1936 70, 187; J. Yoyotte: Une statue de Darius découverte à Suse: les inscriptions hieroglyphiques. Darius et l'Égypte. *Journal Asiatique* 260 (1972) 259. For Kushites as throne-bearers of the Persian king: Walser 1966 51 ff. Kushite tribute-bringers before Xerxes: ibid. 100 ff., Pls 30, 81, 82.

183 MFA 21.2286; Dunham 1963 383, figs 212–215. For its dating to around 470 BC, as opposed to earlier datings to around 400 BC, see K. de Vries: Attic Pottery in the Achaemenid Empire. *AJA* 81 (1977) 544–548 546; J.-Gy. Szilágyi in Török 1989 118 Cat. 1.

184 L. Kahil: Un nouveau vase plastique du potier Sotades au Musée du Louvre. *RA* 1972 271–284.

185 For the First Persian Period (525–404 BC) in Egypt, see Posener 1936; Kienitz 1953; J. Ray: Egypt: 525–404 BC. in: *CAH* IV 254–286; and cf. G. Burkard: Literarische Tradition und historische Realität. Die persische Eroberung Ägyptens am Beispiel Elephantine. *ZÄS* 121 (1994) 93–106; and cf. also Lloyd 1994.

(under Xerxes I), between *c.* 463/2–449 (revolt of Inaros under Artaxerxes I), and between *c.* 414/3–404 BC (under Darius II[186]) considerably changed the perspectives of Kushite contacts with Egypt.[187] The conflicts in Egypt were considered a chance for the Kushite reoccupation of the region between the First and Second Cataracts. The reconquest was probably accomplished during the revolt of Inaros, as it is also indicated by the archaeological evidence dating to this period the withdrawal of the Egyptian forces from the Lower Nubian fortress of Dorginarti.[188]

186 For Darius II in the Egyptian evidence, see Vittmann 2011 401–405.

187 For the Kushite-Egyptian contacts in the fifth and fourth centuries BC, see Morkot 1991.

188 The mud-brick fortress on the island of Dorginarti at the northern end of the Second Cataract, about halfway between Wadi Halfa and Mirgissa, though dated traditionally to the Middle and/or the New Kingdom (see Heidorn 1991 205), was usually left unmentioned in the discussion of the Egyptian military presence in Nubia. Reluctance to classify Dorginarti with its irregular triangular ground plan and rectangular gate towers and bastions as a Middle/New Kingdom fortress was fully justified by Lisa Heidorn's reexamination of the archaeological evidence from the salvage excavation conducted at the site by Richard Holton Pierce in 1964. Heidorn argued that the pottery and small finds from Dorginarti belong to Egyptian and Nubian types occurring in Third Intermediate Period through Twenty-Seventh Dynasty (First Persian Period, 525–404 BC) assemblages. Heidorn concluded that "the fortress was occupied from the mid-seventh century BC to the end of the fifth; however, a late eighth-century to early seventh-century BC date for the original occupation (…) is not precluded" (Heidorn 1991 205). Albeit identifying various finds datable to the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty period, Heidorn nevertheless discussed Dorginarti only within the context of an "at least nominal northern control [of Lower Nubia] from the beginning of the Saite period down through sometime in the fifth century" (Heidorn 1991 206). For Dorginarti and related problems, see recently L. Heidorn: Dorginarti: Fortress at the Mouth of the Rapids. in: Jesse–Vogel (eds) 2013 293–307; Török 2013.

CHAPTER 2

The Aithiopian Passages in English Translation

> [I]n no case is the past remembered "for its own sake".[1]

In this study thirteen passages dealing with Aithiopia are discussed. They are dispersed in Books II (seven passages), III (three passages), IV (two passages) and VII (one passage). Further passages in Books II, III, IV, VII, and IX with mentions of Αἰθίοπες,[2] Αἰθιοπίη,[3] Αἰθιοπικός,[4] Αἰθιοπίς,[5] or Αἰθίοψ[6] are disregarded here since they are irrelevant for the present investigation and/or repeat information which occurs in a more complete form in the passages given below.

In the following I give the text of the Aithiopian passages in Tormod Eide's English translation as published in Volume I of the *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum*. In three cases I shall briefly quote from Aubrey de Sélincourt's translation, revised by John Marincola, and in one case I also include an emendation suggested by Stanley Burstein. For the sake of easier reference I shall use "Text" as an auxiliary term when referring to the individual Aithiopian passages (Texts 1–12; note that passages 2.137 and 2.139 constitute together one narrative [Text 2] which is interrupted by a digression on a not-Aithiopian topic, viz., the temple of Bubastis in the eastern Delta[7]).

Text 1. Aithiopia Ruled by Sesostris, 2.110
Remark in the history *of Egypt to the reign of Amasis*.[8]

> Sesostris was the only Egyptian king to rule Aithiopia.[9]

1 Assmann 1990b 9.

2 2.22, 2.42, 2.100, 2.104, 3.94, 3.101, 7.9, 7.18, 7.69, 7.70, 9.32.

3 2.11m, 2.12, 2.28, 2.146, 7.90.

4 2.86, 2.127, 2.134, 2.176.

5 2.106.

6 2.140, 3.30.

7 Cf. Lloyd 2007 340f. and see L. Habachi: *Tell Basta*. Le Caire 1957; A. El-Sawi: *Excavations at Tell Basta. Report of Seasons 1967–1971 and Catalogue of Finds*. Prague 1979; C. van Sieclen: Tell Basta. in: Bard (ed.) 1999 776–778.

8 Amasis (= Ahmose II, 570–526 BC) was the penultimate ruler of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty who died one year before the Persian conquest of Egypt.

9 Trans. de Sélincourt–Marincola 2003 136.

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Text 2. On King Sabacos, 2.137,[10] 139
The history *of the reign of Sabacos is part of the* history *of Egypt to the reign of Amasis.*

> 137 After him [Asychis] (I was told) a blind man from the city of Anysis became king; his name was Anysis. During his reign the Aithiopians and their king Sabacos invaded Egypt with a great force. This blind man then fled into the marshes, and the Aithiopian reigned over Egypt for fifty years, during which time he performed the following: When some Egyptian committed a crime, he did not want to have any of them killed, but judged each according to the gravity of his crime, ordering the offender to heap up dykes in front of his home city. And in this way the level of the cities rose even higher. For they were first raised by the men who dug the canals during the reign of Sesostris, then again in the time of the Aithiopian, and thus became very elevated.[11] (…)[12]
>
> 139 It was a dream which finally caused the departure, or rather, the flight, of the Aithiopian Sabacos from Egypt. He dreamt that a man stood by his bed and advised him to assemble all the priests in Egypt and cut them in half, and he is supposed to have said that he believed the dream to have been sent by the gods, to provoke him to sacrilege and involve him in some disaster at the hands of either gods or men. He refused, therefore, to do what was advised; on the contrary, he preferred to leave Egypt, as the destined period of his rule had now come to an end—for before he left Aithiopia, he had received a prophecy from the Aithiopian oracle that he was fated to govern Egypt for fifty years. The fifty years were now up; and that fact, added to the disquieting effect of his dream, caused him to leave Egypt on his own accord.[13]

Text 3. On the End of Aithiopian Rule Over Egypt, 2.152[14]
The end of Sabacos' reign is reported in the history *of Egypt to the reign of Amasis.*

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10 *FHN* I No. 60.

11 Trans. T. Eide, *FHN* I 317 f., No. 60.

12 Here follows a long digression, occupying the second half of Chapter 137 and the whole of Chapter 138, on the city of Bubastis where "the level of the buildings everywhere else has been raised, but the temple (…) [in the centre of the city] allowed to remain in its original position, the result is that one can look down and get a fine view of it from all round" (trans. de Sélincourt–Marincola 2003 152).

13 Trans. de Sélincourt–Marincola 2003 152.

14 *FHN* I No. 63.

> This Psammetichus had earlier fled the Aithiopian Sabacos, who had killed his father Necos. When the Aithiopian withdrew as a result of the dream he had had,[15] the Egyptians from the nome of Sais recalled Psammetichus, who at that time was in exile in Syria.[16]

Text 4. On the Nubian Expedition of Psamtek II, 2.161[17]
The Aithiopian campaign of Psammis (*Psamtek II*) *is mentioned in the* history *of Egypt to the reign of Amasis*.

> Psammis reigned over Egypt for only six years. He made a campaign into Aithiopia, died immediately afterwards, and was succeeded by his son Apries.[18]

Text 5. Aithiopia and the Siwa Oracle, 2.42[19]
The ethnographical *digression about relations between the Egyptians, Aithiopians and Ammonians is inserted in the discourse on the* customs *of the Egyptians*.

> The Thebans and those who by their example abstain from [sacrificing] sheep, say that this law was laid down for them as the result of the following: Heracles desperately wanted to see Zeus, who did not want to be seen by him. Finally, however, since Heracles insisted, Zeus contrived the following: He flayed a ram, cut off the ram's head and held it out in front of him having covered himself with the fleece, and thus showed himself to Heracles. This is the reason why the Egyptians make Zeus' image with a ram's head, and from the Egyptians this custom spread to the Ammonians, who are colonists of Egyptians and Aithiopians and speak a language which lies between those of the two peoples.[20]

Text 6. On the Nile between Elephantine and the Land of the Deserters, 2.29–31[21]
The geography *of Nubia from Elephantine above the First Cataract to the city of Meroe and from Meroe to the region where the Egyptian Deserters were settled is*

15 Cf. Text 7, 2.139.
16 Trans. T. Eide, *FHN* I 321, No. 63.
17 *FHN* I No. 64.
18 Trans. T. Eide, *FHN* I 322, No. 64.
19 *FHN* I No. 59.
20 Trans. T. Eide, *FHN* I 316, No. 59.
21 *FHN* I No. 56.

followed by a discourse on the customs *and* traditions *of the inhabitants of the city of Meroe and the* history *of the Deserters' settlement in Aithiopia.*

29 From no one else was I able to learn anything [about the sources of the Nile], but this much in addition I learned by pressing my inquiries as far as possible: on the one hand I went as an observer all the way to the city of Elephantine, on the other I then investigated through hearsay (ἀκοή) the region beyond. As one goes further up river from the city of Elephantine the country rises, so there it is necessary to proceed with the boat securely bound on both sides just like an ox. If the boat is torn away, it rushes off borne by the force of the current. It takes four days to sail through this region, and the Nile is here sinuous like the Meander. The distance one has to sail in this way is twelve *schoinoi*. Thereupon you will arrive at a smooth plain, where the Nile flows around an island; its name is Takompso. From Elephantine on, the country is inhabited by Aithiopians, and so is half of the island, while the other half is inhabited by Egyptians. Next to the island there is a great lake around which nomad Aithiopians live. When you have sailed through this lake you reach the course of the Nile which flows into it. Then you disembark and travel along the river for forty days, for sharp rocks emerge in the Nile and there are many sunken rocks through which it is impossible to sail. After you have completed the journey through this region during these forty days, you embark onto another boat and sail for twelve days. Thereupon you arrive at a great city with the name of Meroe. This city is said to be the capital of all the other Aithiopians. The people there worship Zeus and Dionysos alone of the gods, and honour them greatly. They also have an oracle of Zeus. They go to war whenever this god bids them through oracles, and wherever he bids them.

30 From this city you will arrive at the Deserters (*Automoloi*) sailing again as long as it took to get from Elephantine to the capital of the Aithiopians. These Deserters are called Asmach, a word that translated into the Greek language means "they who stand at the king's left hand". The defection to the Aithiopians by these 240 000 men of the Egyptian warrior class took place for the following reason: During the reign of Psammetichus garrisons were established in the city of Elephantine on the Aithiopian frontier, and in Pelousian Daphnai another on the Arab and the Assyrian frontier, and in Marea on the Libyan frontier yet another. Even in my time, under the Persians, the garrisons are just as they were in Psammetichus' time; for the Persians have military posts both in Elephantine and in Daphnai. These Egyptians, then, had been on guard for

three years without anybody relieving them; so after deliberation they all by common consent defected from Psammetichus and went to Aithiopia. When Psammetichus learnt this, he pursued them. Having overtaken them he begged them with many words and would not let them abandon their paternal gods, their children and wives. It is said that one of them pointed to his penis and said that where it was, there too they would have children and wives. When these men arrived in Aithiopia, they gave themselves over to the king of the Aithiopians. He rewarded them in the following manner: Some Aithiopians had a disagreement with the king, so he ordered the Deserters to remove them and inhabit their land. Once they had settled among the Aithiopians, the Aithiopians learnt Egyptian customs and have become more civilized.

31 So the Nile is known for the distance of four months of travel by boat and on land, not counting its course in Egypt; for that is how many months will be found to be used by someone who calculates the time it takes to travel from Elephantine to these Deserters. The river flows from west and the setting sun. From that point no one can offer a clear report, for there the land is a desert by reason of the intense heat.[22]

Text 7. Cambyses' ill-planned and unsuccessful campaign against the long-lived Aithiopians, 3.17–26[23]

Cambyses makes plans for three military campaigns against Carthage, the Ammonians, and the long-lived Aithiopians. The history *of the campaign against the long-lived Aithiopians starts with the sending of spies to Aithiopia to collect what information they could, especially about the Table of the Sun. Digressions follow about the Table of the Sun and the refusal of the Phoenicians to take part in the planned expedition against Carthage and about the submission of Cyprus to Cambyses. Next, a long discourse tells what the spies learnt about the* customs *of the long-lived Aithiopians and the* marvels *of their land and describes the spies' negotiations with their king. The spies return to Egypt to make their report, whereupon Cambyses begins his march against Aithiopia. Arriving at Thebes he sends 50,000 men against the Ammonians. The remaining forces continue their march towards the interior of Aithiopia without sufficient provisions. The campaign ends with a catastrophic failure before the army could complete one fifth of the journey.*

22 Trans. T. Eide, *FHN* I 325f., No. 65.

23 *FHN* I No. 65.

17 Thereupon Cambyses determined to launch three campaigns, one against the Carthaginians, another against the Ammonians, and a third against the long-lived Aithiopians, who inhabit the part of Libya that borders on the Southern Ocean. While he was making these plans he decided to send the navy against the Carthaginians, a part of his land forces against the Ammonians, and against the Aithiopians, in the first instance, spies to see if the Sun's Table said to be among these Aithiopians really existed, and also to look into matters in general, under the pretext of bringing gifts to their king.

18 This is roughly what is told about the Table of the Sun: on the outskirts of the city there is a meadow full of boiled meat from every kind of quadruped. During the night those of the citizens who at any moment are in office take care to place the meat there; during the day anybody who so wishes may go there and eat. The natives say that it is the earth itself that produces the meat each time. This, then, is what is told about the so-called Table of the Sun.

19 As soon as Cambyses had decided to send the spies, he summoned from Elephantine, the city of the Fish-eaters, men who knew the Aithiopian language. While they went to find these men, he ordered the navy to sail against Carthage.[24] The Phoenicians, however, refused to go, because of the close bond which connected Phoenicia and Carthage, and the wickedness of making war against their own children. In this way, with the Phoenicians out of it and the remainder of the naval force too weak to undertake the campaign alone, the Carthaginians escaped Persian domination. Cambyses did not think fit to bring pressure to bear, because the Phoenicians had taken service under him of their own free will, and his whole naval power was dependent on them. The Cyprians, too, had given their services to Persia and took part in the Egyptian campaign.[25]

20 After the Fish-eaters had come to Cambyses from Elephantine, he sent them to the Aithiopians, having instructed them what they were to say. They brought as gifts a purple robe, a necklace of gold, bracelets, an alabaster jar of myrrh, and a jar of Phoenician wine. The Aithiopians to whom Cambyses sent them are said to be the tallest and most handsome of all men. They are also said to have customs which set them apart from

24 Trans. T. Eide, *FHN* I 326, No. 65.

25 Trans. de Sélincourt–Marincola 2003 178.

other peoples, especially the following concerning the royalty: the man among the citizens whom they find to be the tallest and to have strength in proportion to his height they find fit to be king.

21 So when the Fish-eaters reached these people, they offered their gifts to their king and said the following, "Cambyses, King of the Persians, wishing to become your friend and protector (ξεῖνός[26]), sent us with orders to enter into negotiations with you and offers you these gifts which he too takes special pleasure in using himself." The Aithiopian, who had learnt that they came as spies, spoke to them in this vein, "Neither did the King of the Persians send you as bringers of gifts because he considers it important to become my friend (ξεῖνός); nor are you telling the truth—for you have come as spies against my kingdom—nor is he a just man. For if he had been just, he would not have coveted another country than his own, nor would he reduce to slavery men who have done him no wrong. Now give him this bow and tell him this, 'The King of the Aithiopians has a piece of advice for the King of the Persians. When the Persians can draw bows that are of this size as easily as this, then let him march against the long-lived Aithiopians with a superior force; but he should be grateful to the gods that up to now they have not put it in the minds of the children of the Aithiopians to acquire other land than their own.'"

22 Having said this he unstrung the bow and handed it to them. He then took the purple robe and asked them what it was and how it was made. When the Fish-eaters had told him the truth about the purple and the dyeing, he said that they were deceptive and that their clothes were deceptive too. Secondly, he asked them about the gold objects, the necklace and the bracelets. When the Fish-eaters explained their use as ornaments, the king laughed; and, thinking they were fetters, said that they themselves had stronger ones than those. Thirdly, he asked about the myrrh. When they told him how it was produced and used for anointing, he made the same comment as about the robe. When he came to the wine and was told how it was produced, he was quite enthusiastic about the drink and went on to ask what kind of food the king ate and what was the longest a Persian could live. They told him that the king ate bread, explaining all about wheat and that the maximum lifetime laid down for a man was eighty years. To this the Aithiopian replied that it was no wonder they lived so short a time since they fed on manure;

26 *Xeinos*, "official friend", see Chapter 4.9.

they would not even have been able to live that long if they had not restored themselves with this drink—and he drew the attention of the Fish-eaters to the wine, for in that respect his people were inferior to the Persians.

23 When the Fish-eaters in turn asked the King about the Aithiopians' lifespan and food habits, he answered that most of them attained 120 years, that some surpassed even that, and that their food was boiled meat and their drink milk. When the spies expressed amazement at the number of years, he took them to a fountain with water which made people who bathed there glisten all the more, as if it had been a fountain of oil, and there was a smell from it as if from violets. The water of this fountain was so thin (lit. ἀσθενής, "weak"), the spies said, that virtually nothing would be able to float on it, neither wood nor things lighter than wood, everything sank to the bottom. This water, if it really was as described, could be the cause of their longevity, since they use it regularly. When they left the fountain, he led them to a men's prison where all were bound in fetters of gold; for among these Aithiopians copper is the rarest and most precious of all things. After having visited the prison, they also visited the so called Table of the Sun.

24 Thereupon they finally visited the coffins of the Aithiopians, which are said to be made of a transparent material (ὕαλος)[27] in the following manner: When they have dried the body, whether in the manner of the Egyptians or in some other way, they cover it with gypsum and decorate it all over with paint, imitating as far as possible the appearance of the deceased; then they place around it a hollow block made of the transparent material (this they dig up from the ground in great quantity, and it is easy to work). Inside the block the corpse can be clearly seen, while causing no disagreeable smell or any other unpleasantness, and it leaves everything visible, just as the corpse is. The closest relatives keep the block in their houses for a year, bringing it all the first-fruit offerings and sacrifices; thereafter they take it away and set it up outside the city.

25 After having visited everything, the spies departed home. When they had given their report, Cambyses became angry and immediately undertook a campaign against the Aithiopians, without either giving any orders for supply of food nor himself realizing that he was about to make

27 *Hyalos* is the word used for alabaster, crystal, amber, and (first in Plato) for glass (note by T. Eide, *FHN* I 327 n. 93).

a campaign to the farthest part of the world. Being a madman and not in his senses he undertook the campaign as soon as he heard the report of the Fish-eaters, ordering the Greeks who were present to remain there, but bringing all his infantry with him. When, during the march, he came to Thebes, he detached about 50,000 men from his army; and these he commanded to enslave the Ammonians and set fire to the oracle of Zeus, while he himself led the rest of his army against the Aithiopians. Before the army had completed one fifth of the journey all that they had by way of food was used up, and after the food there was a shortage of pack animals too because they were being eaten. If then Cambyses on learning this had changed his mind and led his army back, he would have been a wise man in spite of his initial mistake; but in fact he paid no attention and continued his march forward. As long as the soldiers could get anything from the ground, they survived by feeding on grass; but when they came to the sand, some of them committed an outrageous act: they chose by lot one man out of ten and ate him. When Cambyses learnt this, the fear of cannibalism made him abandon the campaign against the Aithiopians. He marched back and arrived at Thebes having lost a great part of his army. From Thebes he went down to Memphis, dismissed the Greeks and sent them off by sea.[28]

26 So ended the expedition against Aithiopia (…)

Text 8. The gifts delivered to the king of Persia by the Aithiopians along the Egyptian borders, 3.97[29]
The tribute paid to Persia by the Aithiopians living south of the Egyptian border is recorded in the history *of the reign of Darius.*

Now the following were not required to deliver any tribute, but did bring gifts: the Aithiopians along the Egyptian borders, whom Cambyses subdued when he marched against the long-lived Aithiopians, (…) who[30] live around the holy Nysa and celebrate the festivals for Dionysos. [These Aithiopians and their neighbours have the same kind of semen as the

28 Trans. T. Eide, *FHN* I 326 ff., No. 65.

29 *FHN* I No. 57.

30 The relative pronoun can hardly refer to "the long-lived Aithiopians". Stein 1893, followed by Legrand 1939, suggested that a mention of the people referred to here has been lost (cf. below "These two peoples together"). Rosén 1987 does not suppose a lacuna, but puts a stop before the pronoun (note by T. Eide, *FHN* I 313 n. 84).

> Callantian Indians, and they have subterranean dwellings.[31]] These two peoples together used to deliver every second year, and still deliver in my time, two *choinikes* of unrefined gold, two hundred logs of ebony, five Aithiopian boys, and twenty great elephant tusks.[32]

An alternative emendation is suggested by Stanley Burstein,[33] who translates 3.97 as follows:

> The Aithiopians, those who are neighbours of Egypt, whom Cambyses subdued while marching against the Long-lived Aithiopians and [...] (sc. those) who dwell near holy Nysa and conduct festivals in honour of Dionysus. Both these bring as presents every third year, and they continue to do so up to my time, two *choinikes* of unrefined gold, two hundred logs of ebony, five Aithiopian boys and twenty elephant tusks.

In this study Burstein's emendation is preferred to the emendation on which Eide's translation is based (see Chapter 4.10).

Text 9. On the Autochthonous Origin of the Aithiopians, 4.197[34]
The ethnographical *remark on the autochthonous origin of the Aithiopians is inserted in the discourse on the Libyan tribes and their* customs.

> These are the Libyans[35] that I am able to mention by name; most of them do not care anything about the king of the Medes (Persians) now, nor did they then. I have one more piece of information on this land: four peoples share it, not more, as far as I know, and two of the peoples are autochthonous, the two others not; the Libyans and the Aithiopians are autochthonous, the former inhabit the northern, the latter the southern part of Libya; the Phoenicians and the Greeks, however, are immigrants.[36]

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31 Interpolation considered as an intrusion in the editions of Stein 1893 and Legrand 1939 but accepted by Tormod Eide in *FHN* I 312 f. and in the translation of the *Histories* by de Sélincourt–Marincola 2003 214.

32 Trans. T. Eide, *FHN* I 312 f., No. 57.

33 Burstein 1995 159.

34 *FHN* I No. 61.

35 By "Libya" ancient authors generally mean the whole of Africa west of the Nile. For a full survey of Herodotus' uses of the terms "Libya" and "Libyans", see Honigmann 1926.

36 Trans. T. Eide, *FHN* I 319, No. 61.

Text 10. On the Aithiopian Trog[l]odytes,[37] 4.183[38]
The ethnographical *remark on the Aithiopian tribe of the Trog[l]odytes is inserted in the discourse on the Libyan tribes and their* customs.

> The Aithiopian Trog[l]odytes are the swiftest runners of all men of whom tales reach our ears. The food of the Trog[l]odytes is snakes and lizards and similar reptiles. They use a language that does not resemble any other; rather they utter shrill sounds like bats.[39]

Text 11. On Aithiopia and the Aithiopians, 3.114[40]
A brief ethnographical *description of Aithiopia, the furthest inhabited country at the southwestern confines of the inhabited world and its inhabitants is inserted in the* history *of Darius' reign as part of a digression about the lands that lie at the ends of the earth.*

> To the southwest[41] Aithiopia extends toward the setting sun, the furthest inhabited country. This country produces much gold, huge elephants, all kinds of wild trees, and ebony; and the men there are very tall, handsome, and long-lived.[42]

Text 12. Aithiopians in Xerxes' Army, 7.69[43]
The ethnographical *description of the Aithiopian warriors serving in Xerxes' army and of their* customs *occurs in the catalogue of the peoples in Xerxes' army, which is inserted in the* history *of Xerxes' campaigns against the Greeks.*

> The Aithiopians had leopard and lion skins fastened to themselves; they had bows made of palm wood, of great length, not less than four cubits, and in addition small reed arrows, with tips made of sharpened stone instead of iron, from the kind of stone they also use to engrave seals. They also had spears with horns of gazelles sharpened to a point as spearheads, and they had clubs with knobs. They go into battle with one half of their

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37 The original form of the ethnonym was probably *Trogodytai*, see Chapter 4.11.

38 *FHN* I No. 66.

39 Trans. T. Eide, *FHN* I 331, No. 66.

40 *FHN* I No. 62.

41 Literally "as noon inclines", an expression of time here used locally, "where the south turns (toward the west)" (note by T. Eide, *FHN* I 320 n. 89).

42 Trans. T. Eide, *FHN* I 320, No. 62.

43 *FHN* I No. 58.

body smeared with chalk, the other half with ochre. The Arabians and the Aithiopians who live beyond Egypt were under the command of Arsames, son of Darius and Artystone, daughter of Cyrus, Darius' favourite wife, of whom he had a statue made of hammered gold.[44]

44 Trans. T. Eide, *FHN* I 314 f., No. 58.

CHAPTER 3

The Problem of the "Aithiopian *Logos*"

> It would (…) be quite mistaken to think of Herodotus simply as a latter-day Homer composing a prose epic.[1]

1 The Context of the Aithiopian Passages: Introductory Remarks

Before going down to the discussion of the actual contexts in which we encounter the Aithiopian passages, we have first to deal with some terms to be used below, viz., λόγος, logos, "(oral) report", "story", "prose text" and προσθήκη/παρενθήκη, "digression"/"insertion". Herodotus uses *logos* to refer to the whole of his work as well as to smaller narrative units in it[2] while representing himself as a narrator and at the same time a *histōr* (ἵστωρ)[3] who is retelling stories heard from others. He frequently separates the retold *logoi* (or the narrative units he creates from reshaped *logoi*[4]) by simple narrative devices ("the Ammonians say"; "it is said") or more complex framing sentences.[5]

Neither Jacoby, who suggests in his monumental *Realencyclopädie* article a fluid general definition for *logos* as an *Erzählung von oder über etwas*,[6] nor the majority of the later generations of Herodotean scholars make a clear ter-

1 Lloyd 2007 236.

2 Murray 2001 24f.; cf. Dewald 2002 274f.

3 The term ἵστωρ is attested in archaic poetry and in legal documents with the meaning "judge", "adjudicator", "witness", see Bakker 2002 14 with note 32. Although it is not used in the *Histories*, Dewald 2002 273ff. convincingly argues that this critical role is an organic part of Herodotus' authorial persona. According to Dewald 2002 273, in the *Histories*' proem the initial "I" articulates the narrative structure of the work "as a binary one: material initially received from others is told and to a certain extent arranged and critiqued by Herodotus himself (…) The *histōr*'s 'I' (…) criticizes bits of information as data, but it also communicates, supplements, and ultimately interprets the narrated content of the *logoi*".—For Herodotus' use of ἵστωρ, ἱστορεῖν, ἱστορία, cf. J.E. Powell: *Lexicon Herodoteum*. Cambridge 1938; Press 1982/2003 20ff.

4 Cf. Dewald 2002 276 with note 20.

5 R.V. Munson: *Transitions in Herodotus*. Diss. Univ. of Pennsylvania 1983. *Non vidi*, quoted in Dewald 2002 276; Gray 2002 302f.

6 Jacoby 1913 282. See also the definition offered by Wolf Aly (Aly 1921) and his followers (e.g., Thomson 1935), according to whom the *logoi* are folktales in prose.

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minological distinction between longer narrative units such as the Egyptian *logos* and shorter ones,[7] which they term "short story",[8] "novella",[9] or "minor *logos*".[10] Yet Jacoby also offers a more specific definition when arguing that the *logoi* about foreign lands and peoples share the same quadripartite structure. Namely, they uniformly consist of the following four components: *a*) account of the land and its geographical situation, *b*) account of the form of life and the laws and customs (νόμοι) of its inhabitants, *c*) account of the great accomplishments (ἔργα μεγάλα) and marvels (θώματα) of its natural and/or human world[11] that evoke the interest of the foreign (i.e., Greek) observer, and finally *d*) account of its political history.[12] According to Irene de Jong's acute remark, however, as long as an in-depth study of the term *logos* is missing its use remains problematic.[13] We shall see in the following chapters of this book that even the longer Aithiopian passages, viz., Book II Chapters 29–31 (here Chapter 2, Text 6) and Book III Chapters 17–26 (here Chapter 2, Text 7) fail to satisfy Jacoby's criteria.

Herodotus states that "I need not apologize for the digressions (προσθήκας) —it has been my habit throughout this *logos*" (4.30).[14] He uses the terms προσθήκη, "addition", "digression" (4.30), or παρενθήκη, "insertion" (7.171) for what the literature uses to refer to as "digression", "*Exkurs*".[15] Jacoby remarks at one place that the *Histories* consist mainly of *Exkurse* and *Exkurse* within *Exkurse*.[16] It would be difficult to reconcile such a description with another suggestion of Jacoby's according to which there are the following types of *Exkurse* in the *Histories*: 1) "not real" digressions, which only insert material that could not be placed in the "main story";[17] 2) short "real digressions" that cause no or little disruption;[18] and 3) digressions that add important material,

7 E.g., Thomson 1935: all types of narrative are *logoi*.
8 E.g., Gray 2002.
9 Cf. Cobet 1971 82.
10 Minor *logoi*: Immerwahr 1966.
11 Cf. Lloyd 1975 141ff.
12 Jacoby 1913 331.
13 De Jong 2002 255.
14 Slightly modified trans. after de Sélincourt–Marincola 2003 250.
15 On Plutarch's negative opinion of Herodotus' "out of place" digressions, see Baragwanath 2008 12f., 28.
16 Jacoby 1913 256.—For some scholars the *logos* on the land, history and customs of Egypt in Chapters 2.1–182 represent nothing but a lengthy digression, see Harrison 2002 555.
17 Jacoby 1913 381.
18 Jacoby 1913 384.

which Herodotus could not present "in its proper place".[19] The study of the digressions thus classified does not support their evaluation as "additional material" inserted in the main narrative, however. The explanation of such a procedure on the basis of the speculation that "his advancing age (…) urged (Herodotus) to give his knowledge an existence independent of his own, then omitting any piece of it meant consigning it to oblivion"[20] is not convincing, either. Not denying that there are indeed some digressions of the "additional material" kind, one cannot fail to notice that the overwhelming majority of the digressions is inserted in a calculated manner in places where they support the articulation of Herodotus' worldview. Nevertheless, it is not necessary to go as far as Immerwahr's radical suggestion according to which there is no hierarchy of major and minor units in the *Histories*: According to Immerwahr, nothing should be termed digression as it would indicate unimportance.[21] The recent consensus about the genre of digression is summarized thus by John Marincola:

> [j]ust as Homer by means of flashbacks and anticipations (what narratologists term analepses and prolepses) fills out the story beyond the temporal boundaries of his main narrative, so Herodotus frequently employs digressions (temporal and spatial) to give necessary or important background or supplementary information.[22]

The division between narratives like 3.17–26 and the Herodotean digression as characterized by Marincola remains rather imprecise, however. Instead of insisting on superfluous terminological distinctions, it is advisable to use both *logos* and "digression" as auxiliary terms.

2 Was There an Unfinished Aithiopian *Logos*?

As we have seen in Chapter 3.1, Jacoby defines the *logoi* about foreign lands and peoples as stories consisting de rigueur of four components, viz., accounts of the land and its geographical situation, the form of life and the laws and customs of its inhabitants, the "great accomplishments" and "marvels" of its

19 Jacoby 1913 386.

20 Rösler 2002 83.

21 Immerwahr 1966 11ff.; cf. Erbse 1961; Kaiser 1968 210 note 1; Gray 2002 302f.

22 Marincola 2006 14, cf. van Wees 2002 321; de Jong 2002.

natural and/or human world, and finally an account of its political history.[23] Accordingly, he classifies Chapters 3.17–26 (here Chapter II, Text 7) together with the *logoi* about Lydia (1.6–94), Babylon (1.192–200), the Massagetae (1.201–216), Egypt (2.1–3.16), India (3.98–105), Scythia (4.5–82), Libya (4.168–199), and Thrace (5.3–9).

Several writers accept Jacoby's definition and refer with him to the narrative in Chapters 3.17–26 as "Aithiopian *logos*".[24] Jacoby characterizes it as follows:

> [während im] allerdings sehr kurzen λόγος über die Äthiopen (...) die historischen Fakta ganz dürftig [sind], das ethnographische Material verhältnismässig reichhaltig ist. Letzteres wird nämlich an drei verschiedenen Stellen eingelegt; das Hauptstück über die νόμοι [*customs*] III 20 an der gleichen Stelle, wo sonst diese Exkurse stehen; das eine grosse θαυμάσιον [*marvel*], die ἡλίου τράπεζα [*the Table of the Sun*], als Motivierung der Aussendung von κατόπται [*spies*] (III 17–18); der Rest wird auf den Dialog zwischen Äthiopenkönig und den von Xerxes [*correctly: Cambyses!*] zu ihm gesandten Ichthyophagen verteilt (III 21–24).[25]

Several questions remain open here. Is the "in any case very short" narrative a standard *logos* conforming in structure and contents with the *logoi* listed above, or should it be defined in a different way? Is it possible that Herodotus planned a self-contained Aithiopian *logos* which he did not complete? If so, should the Aithiopian passages be interpreted as dispersed fragments of an unaccomplished *logos*? In order to answer these questions, we have to consider the Aithiopian passages within their narrative context. An introductory overview is presented in the table below:

23 Jacoby 1913 341 ff., esp. 347. We read, however, on p. 342 that "Man kann sich garnicht vorstellen, wie z. B. die kurze Beschreibung Thrakiens oder die von Aethiopien als besondere λόγοι hätten existieren können".

24 E.g., Hofmann–Vorbichler 1979; *FHN* I 323 ff.; Dorati 2011, etc.

25 Jacoby 1913 347.

Text	King/period	Narrative context
Text 1 Hdt. 2.110 *Aithiopia ruled by Sesostris*	Sesostris Dyn. 12	Sesostris legend 2.102–110 in: Egyptian history to the reign of Amasis 2.99–182
Text 2 Hdt. 2.137, 139 *Sabacos as ruler of Egypt*	Sabacos (Shabaqo) Dyn. 25	reign of Anysis 2.137–140 in: Egyptian history to the reign of Amasis 2.99–182
Text 3 Hdt. 2.152 *End of Sabacos' rule over Egypt*	Psammetichus (Psamtek I) Dyn. 26	reign of Psamtek I 2.151–157 in: Egyptian history to the reign of Amasis 2.99–182
Text 4 Hdt. 2.161 *Psammis' Nubian expedition*	Psammis (Psamtek II) Dyn. 26, 593 BC[26]	reign of Psamtek II 2.159–161 in: Egyptian history to the reign of Amasis 2.99–182
Text 5 Hdt. 2.42 *Aithiopia and the Siwa oracle*	Cambyses First Persian Period (Dyn. 27)	customs of the Egyptians 2.35–98 in: accession of Cambyses, his campaigns against Egypt and Aithiopia 2.1–3.38
Text 6 Hdt. 2.29–31 *The Nile between Elephantine and the land of the Deserters*	Cambyses First Persian Period (Dyn. 27)	geography of Egypt and Aithiopia 2.2–34
Text 7 Hdt. 3.17–26 *Cambyses in Nubia; the land and customs of the long-lived Aithiopians*	Cambyses First Persian Period (Dyn. 27)	Cambyses' campaigns against Aithiopia and the Ammonians 3.17–26 in: campaigns against Egypt and Aithiopia 2.1–3.38
Text 8 Hdt. 3.97 *The gifts delivered by the Aithiopians to the king of Persia*	Darius I First Persian Period (Dyn. 27)	reign of Darius 3.89–7.3

26 For the date of the expedition, see *FHN* I No. 41.

Text	**King/period**	**Narrative context**
Text 9 Hdt. 4.197 *The autochthonous origin of the Aithiopians*	Darius I First Persian Period (Dyn. 27)	Libyan tribes and their customs 4.168–199 in: reign of Darius 3.89–7.3
Text 10 Hdt. 4.183 *The Aithiopian Trog*[*l*]*odytes*	Darius I First Persian Period (Dyn. 27)	Libyan tribes and their customs 4.168–199 in: reign of Darius 3.89–7.3
Text 11 Hdt. 3.114 *Aithiopia on the fringes of the inhabited world*	Darius I First Persian Period (Dyn. 27)	meditation on the fringes of the inhabited world 3.106–117 in: reign of Darius 3.89–7.3
Text 12 Hdt. 7.69 *Aithiopians in Xerxes' army*	Xerxes I First Persian Period (Dyn. 27)	catalogue of Xerxes' forces 7.61–99 in: Xerxes' campaigns against the Greeks 7.4–9.122

In 2.110 (Text 1) Herodotus states that the Egyptian king, Sesostris, also ruled over Aithiopia. In 2.137+139 (Text 2) and 2.152 (Text 3) the historian speaks somewhat longer about the Aithiopian Sabacos' Egyptian regency. The name Sabacos is a rendering of Egyptian *Šꜣ-bꜣ-kꜣ*, Nubian Shabaqo.[27] Shabaqo was king of Kush and, as second ruler of the Egyptian Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, pharaoh of Egypt.[28] Passage 2.161 (Text 4) mentions the Nubian campaign[29] of Psammis, the historical King Psamtek II of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty,[30] as part of the account of his reign. In 3.97 (Text 8) Herodotus records the gifts, i.e., the tribute sent to the king of Persia by two groups of Aithiopians, namely, the Aithiopians living in Lower Nubia under the domination of Egypt's Persian rulers, and the independent Aithiopians living south of Lower Nubia (see Chapter 4.10). The Aithiopian tribute is one of the items in the list of the revenues deriving from the provinces of the Persian Empire (3.89–97).

27 In this study I use the reconstructed Nubian form of Twenty-Fifth Dynasty royal names, cf. Rilly 2007 21.

28 *FHN* I Nos (12), (13).

29 *FHN* I Nos (36), 41–43.

30 Cf. Lloyd 2007 360 ff.

The perspective of Texts 1–4 is Egyptian. They are organic parts of the political history of Egypt from Min (Menes), the first human king of Egypt, to the reign of Amasis (2.99–182). While in 2.161 (Text 4) the historian speaks about Psamtek II's Aithiopian campaign, he does not connect it in any way to Aithiopian history. The topic as well as the perspective of Text 8 is Persian. It is fitted in the monumental account of Darius I's reign (3.89–7.3). Chapter 7.69 (Text 12) contains information about Aithiopians fighting in Xerxes I's army. Here the topic of the larger narrative context—Xerxes' campaigns against the Greeks—is Persian.

Three passages occur in various ethnographic discourses. 4.197 (Text 9) is a very brief digression inserted into the account of the Libyan tribes and their customs (4.168–199), being itself a long digression placed in the history of the reign and campaigns of Darius. 4.197 (Text 9) contains a brief remark about the autochthonous origin of the Aithiopians, repeating one of the stereotypes used by Herodotus to explain why peoples came to be where they lived.[31] The context of 4.183 (Text 10) is the same. It presents a short remark on the customs of the Aithiopian Trog[l]odytes, one of the (mostly fabulous) tribes described by Herodotus as living west of the Nile. 3.114 (Text 11) contains a brief ethnographical note on the long-lived Aithiopians defining them as a people living at the southwestern confines of the inhabited world. It appears in the history of Darius' reign as part of a digression in which Herodotus sets forth his thoughts about the lands that lie at the ends of the earth (3.106–117).

The perspective of the ethnographical passage 2.42 (Text 5) is different. As a short digression on religious relations between the Egyptians, Aithiopians, and Ammonians,[32] it is fitted in the description of the gods, cults, and religious traditions of Egypt (2.37–76), i.e., in the account of the customs of the Egyptians (2.35–98), which is part of the narrative on Cambyses' accession, his campaigns against Egypt and Aithiopia, and his madness (2.1–3.38).

Among the Aithiopian passages there are two longer accounts. 2.29–31 (Text 6) describes the land of Aithiopia and provides information about some customs and traditions of the Aithiopians. Since the Nile arrives in Egypt from Aithiopia, the description of the land of Aithiopia continues the account of the φύσις χώρης, the "physical features of the land" (2.5) of Egypt (2.2–34). At the end of the description of Egypt from the Delta to Elephantine there stands

31 Either they were autochthonous, or they arrived there "a long time ago", see Cobet 2002 404.

32 I.e., the inhabitants of the Oasis of Siwa, the site of the oracle of Zeus Ammon. Cf. Lloyd 1976 195 ff. and see Chapter 4.6.

a digression about the source of the Nile (see below). The Aithiopian passage starts with two much quoted sentences (2.29), providing a transition between the two accounts and at the same time separating them:

> On this subject [i.e., the springs of the Nile] I could get no further information from anybody. As far as Elephantine I speak as an eyewitness, but further south from hearsay.[33]

In the geographical description of Egypt there appear digressions at three places, viz., in 2.15–18, 2.20–23, and 2.28. Each digression presents important additions to the φύσις χώρης. In the first, Herodotus argues against the Ionians' definition of Egypt and expounds his own view,[34] which he also supports by quoting an oracle delivered by the Ammon of Siwa (2.18, cf. Chapter 4.6). In the second, he discusses various Greek views on the causes of the inundation and argues against all of them.[35] In the third digression, Herodotus presents a discussion of what he has heard about the dual source of the Nile from a priest "who kept the register of the treasures of Athene in the Egyptian city of Sais".[36] The priest told him the following:

> [B]etween Syene, near Thebes, and Elephantine there were two mountains of conical shape called Crophi and Mophi; and that the springs of the Nile, which were of fathomless depth, flowed out from between them. Half of the water flowed northwards towards Egypt and half southwards towards Ethiopia.[37]

The priest also related the experiment of King Psammetichus (Psamtek I) to prove that these springs are bottomless.[38] Herodotus expected a scientific explanation from a learned priest. He received instead a theological one, which he understood as a joke. The historian was not prepared to perceive the meaning of the Egyptian religious tradition according to which there were Nile sources at several sacred sites, viz., the dual source between Syene and

33 Trans. de Sélincourt–Marincola 2003 105.

34 Cf. Lloyd 1976 78 ff.

35 Cf. Lloyd 1976 98 ff.

36 Trans. de Sélincourt–Marincola 2003 105. Probably a scribe of the temple of Neith is meant, cf. K. Sabri Kolta: *Die Gleichsetzung ägyptischer und griechischer Götter bei Herodot*. PhD thesis Tübingen 1968 96 ff.; Lloyd 2007 257.

37 Trans. de Sélincourt–Marincola 2003 105.

38 Cf. S. Sauneron: A propos d'Éléphantine. *BIFAO* 58 (1959) 35–38 35 f.

Elephantine and the sources at Gebel es-Silsileh, Memphis,[39] Old Cairo/Babylon and Roda, all contributing to the flood.[40]

Let us make here a short digression. In Chapter 92 of Book II Herodotus says the following about the beginning of the inundation:

> When the Nile begins to rise, the hollows and marshy ground close beside it are the first to fill, the water from the river seeping through the banks, and no sooner are these low-lying bits of ground formed into lakes than they are found to contain a multitude of small fish.[41]

With reference to the (supposed) irrelevance of this passage, Sourdille argued[42] that Herodotus could not have been in Egypt at the beginning of the inundation. On this point also Lloyd is hesitant.[43] More recently Marc Gabolde published a fascinating paper[44] in which he discusses a relief from the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak. It represents Rameses II adoring the Theban triad while the inundation is issuing from "beneath the soles" of the enthroned Amun of Thebes.[45] Gabolde shows that the tradition of the "local inundation" at Thebes and related traditions (e.g., the inundation issuing from a deity's footsteps) originate from the actual experience of the process of inundation on the convex floodplain of the Nile, where the first (local) stage of the inundation was marked by the rising of the groundwater to the surface in the lower-lying plains between the higher river banks and the desert margins.[46] While Herodotus should not be criticized on this point, it remains unresolved whether in the issue of filtration[47] he relied on autopsy or—what appears more probable—hearsay.

39 Pliny, *NH* 5.55.

40 For the Egyptian tradition concerning *Ḳrtj,* the dual source, cf. J. Yoyotte: Nil. in: G. Posener et al.: *Knaurs Lexikon der Ägyptischen Kultur*. München-Zürich 1960 181–184 184; Bonneau 1964; K.W. Butzer: Nilquellen. *LÄ* IV (1981) 506–507; H. Beinlich: *Die "Osirisreliquien": Zum Motiv der Körperzergliederung in der altägyptischen Religion*. Wiesbaden 1979 11; for Crophi (Κρῶφι or Χρωφί) and Mophi (Μῶφι or Μωφί), cf. Locher 1999 104 ff.

41 Trans. de Sélincourt–Marincola 2003 130.

42 Sourdille 1910 7.

43 Cf. Lloyd 1976 379 f.; 2007 306; but see also Bonneau 1964 63 ff., 171 ff.

44 Gabolde 1995.

45 Gabolde 1995 figs 1, 2.

46 K.W. Butzer: *Early Hydraulic Civilization in Egypt. A Study in Cultural Ecology*. Chicago-London 1976 12 ff., fig. 1.

47 Cf. Bonneau 1964 63 ff.

3.17–26 (Text 7), the second of the two longer Aithiopian passages, presents a description of the city of Meroe, the capital of the long-lived Aithiopians and its marvels, furthermore an account of Aithiopian kingship and the customs and traditions of the long-lived Aithiopians. After an introduction on Cambyses' initiative to send expeditions against the Carthaginians, the Ammonians, and the Aithiopians, the narrative about Aithiopia starts with a digression (3.18) on Cambyses' decision to send spies to Aithiopia in order "to see if the Sun's Table said to be among these Aithiopians really existed". In 3.20 Herodotus relates that the Aithiopians "are said to be the tallest and most handsome of all men" and "they are also said to have customs which set them apart from other peoples". Chapters 21–24 relate the encounter of the king of the Aithiopians with the spies of Cambyses. We learn about the lifespan of the Aithiopians, their food and drink, and further the miraculous fountain that is the cause of their longevity. Herodotus also speaks about their prison with fetters in gold and about their transparent coffins. Chapters 25–26 give an account of Cambyses' failed Aithiopian campaign (see Chapters 4.8, 9).

As to the types of information they convey, Texts 1–5 and 8–12 may give the impression of being fragments of an independent *logos*. Considering them and the rest of the Aithiopian passages *within* the actual narrative contexts in which they are inserted, however, we have the strong impression that Herodotus collected these particular pieces of information (be they "realistic" or not) originally in order to use them in support of other narratives and not for a self-contained Aithiopian *logos*.[48] The absolutely insubstantial information

48 Here a terminological compromise may be put forward. Namely, it was not necessarily the availability or the absence of "standard" types of information that played *the* decisive role in the composition of a *logos*. We read in 1.184 that "[t]here have been many kings of Babylon who helped to fortify the city and adorn its temples, and I will tell their story in my History of Assyria" (trans. de Sélincourt–Marincola 2003 80). But there is no Assyrian *logos* in the *Histories*, even though we find ample material dispersed in Books I, III and IV that would support the hypothesis that Herodotus *may have had the intention* to write one (cf. Asheri 2007b 203 f. on 1.181–184). In Asheri's view "the first six books [of the *Histories*] create the impression that a number of pre-existing ethnographic, geographical, historical, and constitutional *logoi* were later integrated into the work: independent *logoi*, so it seems, originally conceived of as short monographs (…) The transformation of independent *logoi* into digressions dependent on a unified narrative must have required a considerable amount of effort in the reworking and integrating into one whole of contents, thought, and style, obliterating in the process traces of the separate compositions. In Herodotus' work this process of reworking is incomplete" (Asheri 2007a 12 f.). The Aithiopian passages clearly suggest that here Asheri goes too far with his generalizing assumption of pre-existing and laboriously united *logoi*.

about political history contained in the Aithiopian passages does not stand comparison with the density of information provided in the accounts of Lydia, Egypt, or the Medo-Persian kingdom, *logoi* that also present king-lists.[49] As an imaginary whole, the Aithiopian passages cannot be compared, either, to the *logoi* of great complexity and central in their aims to the overall message of the *Histories* but containing no (Indians, 3.98–101; Scythians, 4.59–82; Thracians, 5.3–8) or little reference to political history, and which name, if at all, only one or two rulers (Babylon, 1.184–187; Massagetae, 1.205, 213; Libya, 4.145–167).

If an Aithiopian passage has an actual historical dimension at all, this dimension is *not Aithiopian*. In Chapter 4 below we shall discuss the contents of the individual Aithiopian passages in greater detail. One of the lessons to be drawn from that survey will be that in the case of Aithiopia Herodotus did not get access to information that would have been enough and adequate for a self-contained *logos*. In the long passage on Aithiopia south of the Egyptian border (2.29–31, Text 6) the account of the Deserters is tied to Psammetichus, i.e., Psamtek I, without relating this king to Aithiopian history, who is otherwise part of the abstract grid of chronological data in Book II. The case of 2.161 (Text 4) is similar, and so is the account of the land of the long-lived Aithiopians (3.17–26, Text 7). These accounts are part of the history of Cambyses' campaigns, but are in no relation to an eventual history of the long-lived Aithiopians. They are utopian, without time dimension.

The chronological range of the Aithiopian passages is also significant. It is worth recalling here Justus Cobet's reconstruction of the abstract grid that integrates Herodotus' indications of historical time. Cobet's grid

> is based on the following indications of time: 1. absolute figures indicating intervals: 1.1. *es eme*, to Herodotus' lifetime; 1.2. of regnal years, adding up to the time span of a particular dynasty. 2. intervals of time measured by counting generations; 2.1. as a mere indication of their number; 2.2. as a list of names. 3. synchronisms: 3.1. between specific historical events; 3.2. between actors; 3.3. between generations.[50]

The length of Sabacos' reign hides in itself an indication according to Cobet's category 1.2. Herodotus is unaware of the fact, however, that his informant was not speaking about the length of Sabacos' reign but about the sum of the lengths of the regencies of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty kings residing in Egypt (see

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49 Lloyd 1975 173 ff.

50 Cobet 2002 393.

Chapter 4.4 below), i.e., about the length of the reign of a *dynasty* according to the Egyptian historical tradition (for Manetho, see Chapter 4.4). The Sabacos story is an organic part of the history of Egypt. Beyond stating that Sabacos conquered Egypt from Aithiopia, Herodotus does not connect him to either of his two Aithiopias (cf. Chapters 4.7–9).

Let us return for a moment to the table presented above (pp. 44f). The Aithiopian passages constitute five chronological units (whereas there may be overlaps between certain units). The first unit contains a single one-sentence passage: Text 1 (2.110) refers laconically to Sesostris' rule over Nubia. The reference is part of the historical section of the Egyptian *logos*, more closely the account of the reign of Sesostris. The Sesostris of Herodotus[51] may be identical with both Senusret I and III and stands for the whole Twelfth Dynasty (1985–1773 BC). The two passages in the second unit, viz., Texts 2 (2.137, 139) and 3 (2.152), refer to King Sabacos, who stands for the whole Twenty-Fifth Dynasty (755–656 BC[52]). The third unit (Texts 3, 2.152; 4, 2.161; 6, 2.29–31) contains references to the regencies of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty pharaohs Psamtek I (664–610 BC) and Psamtek II (595–589 BC). The fourth unit (Texts 5, 2.42; 6, 2.29–31; 7, 3.17–26; 8, 3.97; 12, 7.69) contains passages referring to the reign of the first rulers of the Twenty-Seventh Dynasty (i.e., the First Persian Period[53]), namely, Cambyses (525–522 BC),[54] Darius I (522–486 BC)[55] and Xerxes I (486–465 BC).[56] A fifth unit (Texts 9, 4.197; 10, 4.183; 11, 3.114) is constituted by passages with references to what one may term as "the recent past" or rather the personal memory of Herodotus' own generation.[57]

Apart from the mention of a Middle Kingdom pharaoh also ruling over Nubia, the Aithiopian passages relate thus to the periods of the Twenty-Fifth, Twenty-Sixth, and early Twenty-Seventh Dynasties and to Herodotus' own

51 For the Egyptian Sesostris tradition, see Sethe 1900; Malaise 1966.

52 For the dating of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, see Kahn 2001. For the chronology of the Egyptian rulers before and after the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, see Shaw (ed.) 2000 479–483.

53 For the First Persian Period, see Posener 1936; Kienitz 1953; E. Bresciani: La satrapia d'Egitto. *Studi classici e orientali* 7 (1958) 153–187; J.D. Ray: Egypt: 525–404 B.C. in: J. Boardman et al. (eds): *The Cambridge Ancient History* IV. *Persia, Greece and the Western Mediterranean c. 525–479 B.C.* (2nd edn.) Cambridge 1988 254–286; Lloyd 2000 383ff.; Vittmann 2011 377ff.

54 For Cambyses in the Egyptian evidence, see E. Cruz-Uribe: The Invasion of Egypt by Cambyses. *Trans* 25 (2003) 9–60 (*non vidi*); Vittmann 2011 377–382.

55 For Darius I in the Egyptian evidence, see Vittmann 2011 382–388.

56 For Xerxes I in the Egyptian evidence, see Vittmann 2011 395–398.

57 Cf. Cobet 2002 398f.

time, i.e., the period *c.* between 450 and the early 420s BC[58] (covering roughly the reign of Artaxerxes I, 465–424 BC[59]). Within the enormous dimensions of time embraced by the *Histories*, the Aithiopian passages are anchored in a diminutive—*c.* three and a half centuries long—section of history between the mid-eighth and the late fifth centuries BC. Even within this short period, Herodotus perceives the historical time of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty only vaguely. He has a somewhat clearer picture only of the period starting with the reign of his Psammetichus, i.e., Psamtek I.[60]

Uniting as an experiment the Aithiopian passages into a hypothetical Aithiopian *logos*, we would find that the history of Aithiopia—as far as this "reconstructed" narrative has a historical dimension at all—has only *Egyptian* reference points. Nevertheless, there is no indication whatsoever that Herodotus would also have intended to project his tripartite chronological structure of Egyptian history[61] (from Min to Moeris; from Sesostris to Sethos [= Shebitqo[62]]; the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty) also on Aithiopia, while he does recount the history of several other non-Greek peoples in the framework of threefold partitions,[63] carefully coordinating them with the overall chronological structure of his universal history.[64] A similar structure is also prevailing in Greek history (most ancient period down to Heracles; a long Heraclid period; a better known archaic period).[65]

It may thus be concluded that Herodotus did not collect material for, and/or compose an Aithiopian *logos* dealing with the historical kingdom of Kush lying south of Egypt's southern border, whose kings also ruled over Egypt for a period of time some centuries before Herodotus' day. Instead, he described two Aithiopias, a "really existing" one identical to Lower Nubia under the domination of the Saite Twenty-Sixth Dynasty and then under the rule of Egypt's Persian conquerors (Text 6); and a utopian one, the Aithiopia lying on

58 The latest datable reference made in the *Histories* is to the first two years of the Peloponnesian War, 431–430 BC. Herodotus died sometime between 421 and 415. Cf. J. Marincola: Introduction in: de Sélincourt–Marincola 2003 ix–xiii; Asheri 2007a 2.

59 For Artaxerxes I in the Egyptian evidence, see Vittmann 2011 398–400.

60 Cf. Vannicelli 2001 232.

61 I.e., the history of Egypt under the Human Kings. For the chronology containing the Divine and the Human Kings, see Lloyd 1975 185 ff.; 2007 344 ff.

62 For Sethos, see Chapter 5.1.

63 See Vannicelli 2001 230 ff.

64 Asheri 2007a 32 fig. 1. For the chronology of Herodotus, see Asheri 2007a 30 ff. and cf. H. Strasburger: Herodots Zeitrechnung. *Historia* 5 (1956) 129–161.

65 Cf. Vannicelli 2001 230.

the fringes of the inhabited world (Text 7). The latter he described as the home of the long-lived Aithiopians, *a fabulous people without history*: the peoples living on the fringes, i.e., the "*ethnē*, tribes or nations (…) have no history and time makes no difference for their culture and way of life".[66]

Before going too far with our negative conclusions, however, we have to remember that Herodotus also inserted "realistic" information into the account of the land of the long-lived Aithiopians, or, more precisely, he did insert in it information that his informants may have regarded, and/or modern Herodotean studies may regard as "realistic". Therefore, in the next chapter an attempt will be made at the identification of the "realistic" elements occurring in the Aithiopian passages.

66 Cobet 2002 402f.; cf. the accounts of the Massagetae (1.201–204, 215, 216), the Indians (3.98–105), and the Libyans (4.168–199).

CHAPTER 4

"Fiction" and "Reality"

> It would be hard to think of any historical writer in antiquity who does not, either explicitly or implicitly, allow himself to go beyond the established facts of a situation and indulge in imaginative reconstruction of one kind or another.[1]

> My business is to record what people say, but I am by no means bound to believe it.[2]

1 On Sources

> Up to this point, it is my own autopsy [ὄψις], judgement [γνώμη], and [personal] inquiry [ἱστορίη] that have spoken these things. Henceforth I will go on recording Egyptian stories as I have heard them [ἀκοή]; they will be supplemented by a certain amount of my autopsy.[3]

Having thus defined the methods he had followed in the account of the *customs* of the Egyptians (2.35–98), and indicating at the same time the method he is going to employ in the subsequent section of his Egyptian *logos*, the historian moves to the account of Egypt's *history* from Min to Sethos. He names his source[4] for the history of Egypt: "the priests told me",[5] namely, the priests of the temple of Ptah at Memphis.[6]

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1 J. Percival: Truth in the Greek and Roman Historians. Lecture delivered at the ARLT Summer School, Cardiff 1991 5. Quoted by Grant 1995 95.

2 Hdt. 7.152, trans. de Sélincourt–Marincola 2003 468.

3 2.99, Luraghi 2006 77, trans. N. Luraghi.—Marincola has shown (Marincola 1987) that out of a total of 21 autopsy statements in the *Histories*, 15 come from Book II alone. Luraghi 2001b 151f. also points out that it is in Book II that Herodotus' γνώμη is the most prominent and his ἀκοή statements are the most precise. Carolyn Dewald has also shown, however, that on 41 occasions Herodotus denies the truth of what he reports, see Dewald 1987 151.

4 For inquiry, informants, information, see Fowler 2006 36ff.

5 Ibid.

6 Lloyd 1975 89ff.; 1988 5ff.

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In Egypt the historian received information from Αἰγύπτιοι, "Egyptians". Besides them, he also refers to οἱ ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι, "other people". The latter are probably Greeks,[7] first of all Greeks at Naucratis[8] who were associated with the temple called Hellenion, a sanctuary controlled by a particular political group including "the Ionians of Chios, Theos, Phocaea, and Clazomenae, (…) the Dorians of Rhodes, Cnidos, Halicarnassus and Phaselis, and (…) the Aeolians of Mytilene (…) who have the right of appointing the officers in charge of the port"[9] (cf. 2.178–180).[10] It is to be noted, however, that also the general term "Egyptians" may include Greeks, not only native Egyptians. Herodotus relies first of all upon priests, but also quotes informants whose identity is undefined and who may as well be laymen.[11] The informants are frequently described as "learned men" (λογιώτατοι),[12] the most learned among them being the Heliopolitans (2.3).[13] The historian refers furthermore to the inhabitants of Chemmis[14] (2.91), an interpreter at the pyramids (2.125), people in charge of the Labyrinth[15] (2.148), and people living around Lake Moeris[16] (2.150).[17] They are not individuals: "The way information is attributed to groups and/or divided among them is clearly artificial".[18] As Nino Luraghi aptly summarizes the problem, "[w]ith his ἀκοή statements Herodotus is not quoting sources, as a modern historian does, but is simply referring to what he holds to be the social and/or ethnic dimension of the knowledge he is drawing from".[19] Marco Dorati argues that in the *Histories*

7 Lloyd 1975 116 ff.

8 For the role of Naucratis in Greek-Egyptian cultural interaction in the sixth and fifth centuries BC, see Boardman 1994 160 ff.

9 2.178, trans. de Sélincourt–Marincola 2003 168.

10 Murray 2001 28 f.; cf. Lloyd 2007 373 ff.

11 Lloyd 1975 114.

12 Cf. Lloyd 1976 16 f.

13 For Herodotus on the quality of his Egyptian informants, see Lateiner 1989 85, 107.

14 Egyptian *ḫnty Mnw,* modern Akhmim: Lloyd 2007 303.

15 Amenemhat III's mortuary temple complex at Hawara in the south-eastern Fayum, cf. Diodorus 1.61, 66.3–6; Strabo 17.1.37, 42; Pliny, *NH* 36.13 (19); Pomponius Mela 1.9.56. For the monument, see W.M.F. Petrie–G.A. Wainwright–E. Mackay: *The Labyrinth, Gerzeh, and Mazghuneh*. London 1912; K. Michałowski: The Labyrinth Enigma: Archaeological Suggestions. *JEA* 54 (1968) 219–222; A.B. Lloyd: The Egyptian Labyrinth. *JEA* 56 (1970) 81–100; Arnold 1994 21 f.

16 The (in antiquity much larger) Birket el-Qarun in the Fayum.

17 Cf. Lloyd 1975 89 ff.

18 Fowler 2006 146.

19 Luraghi 2001b 148. See also Luraghi 2006 82 ff.

> it is possible not only that the removed observer is not Herodotus, but rather an informant of his, but also that there is no *individual* observer at all: an ethnographical "script" is not necessarily merely a "thing seen" minus its witness, but rather a synthesis of various viewpoints, observations and intellectual operations, through which a virtual event occurring before a virtual observer is shaped, at the discourse level, on the basis of "historical" events and real observers.[20] (...) Herodotus' ethnographical discourse (...) alternates among the "autobiographical" stance of the traveller, that of a narrator relating by hearsay, and that of an invisible or "virtual" observer.[21]

It will be argued in Chapters 4.2–4, 7–8 and 5.1 that among the information obtained by Herodotus from the priests of Ptah at Memphis there were pieces about the period of the Nubian pharaohs and about certain features of their kingship. An indication for this may also be found in the opening sentence of Chapter 2.100 of the *Histories*:

> [T]he priests read to me from a written record the names of three hundred and thirty monarchs, in the same number generations, all of them Egyptians except *eighteen, who were Ethiopians*, and one other, who was an Egyptian woman.[22]

The case of his information about other Aithiopian matters is more complicated. In 2.29 (here Chapter 2, Text 6) Herodotus declares, "as far as Elephantine I speak as an eye-witness, but further south from hearsay". As opposed to the majority of his source-citations,[23] here the historian does not specify the nationality, occupation, or social milieu of the alleged informants who provided him with oral information about the region south of Elephantine. But there may be little doubt about their identity. In the preceding as well as in the subsequent chapters of Book II there appear only "Egyptian" informants. Consequently, if he collected information about the regions south of Elephantine, it could only be from native and/or Graeco-*Egyptian* informants.

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20 Dorati 2011 289.

21 Dorati 2011 291.

22 Trans. de Sélincourt–Marincola 2003 133 (my italics).—The Egyptian woman: Nitocris, cf. Lloyd 2007 312.

23 Cf. G. Shrimpton: *History and Memory in Ancient Greece*. Montreal-London 1997 229–265.

In general, the "local dimension is crucial to Herodotus' source references, being their most essential feature":[24]

> [t]he collective *akoē* statements sketch a map of knowledge, based on the principle that the locals are the most competent informants about themselves and their own land.[25]

In contrast to this, the ethnographic information occurring in the Aithiopian passages derives from unspecified *second-hand* hearsay and not from genuine "locals". Herodotus refrains here from a deceptive use of the device of "citing the obvious source". He does not pretend, as it would be expected by Fehling (cf. Chapter 1.2), that he had an epichoric informant.[26] The best explanation for this unusual attitude is that he did not meet Aithiopian informants at all—even if he went to Elephantine. But he did *not* go to Elephantine (cf. Chapter 1.2), a fact of which he cannot be expected to speak.

"Personal enquiry", ἱστορία/ἱστορίη, refers as a rule to hearsay evidence.[27] It does not necessarily mean, however, that Herodotus' informants themselves would have relied exclusively on oral tradition. As quoted above, Chapter 100 of Book II relates how the priests of Ptah are *reading a written king-list*[28] to Herodotus who is acquiring *hearsay information* in this way. This particular passage inevitably raises the question: what kind of knowledge could the historian's priestly informants have possessed? Alan Lloyd presents a detailed discussion of the types of information Herodotus received from Egyptian priests,[29] concluding that several things they told the historian are "profoundly disturbing". Earlier literature[30] explained the discrepancy between what Herodotus says about Egypt and what "must have been there" with reference to the low social status of the tourist guides and Egyptian priests whom a foreign traveller

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24 Luraghi 2001b 144.

25 Luraghi 2006 83 f.

26 Cf. Hornblower 2002 378 f.

27 Lloyd 1988b 24.

28 Cf. the *Turin Canon* or *Turin King-list*, a papyrus dating to the reign of Rameses II and originally containing between 254 and 307 names, Redford 1986 1 ff.; K.S.B. Ryholt: *The Political Situation in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period c. 800–1550 B.C.* Copenhagen 1997 9 ff.; Moyer 2002 75 f. Moyer 2002 76 note 29 suggests that, adding Manetho's 39 kings from Rameses II to the end of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, the list read to Herodotus could have included between 293 and 346 names.

29 Lloyd 1975 91 ff.

30 But see also Asheri 2007a 17.

could interview. Lloyd is doubtless right when suggesting that Herodotus may well have met high-standing Egyptian priests, too,[31] but I cannot agree with his next general conclusion that one could hardly receive anything but poor quality information from Egyptian priests, be they low-standing or high-standing. In Lloyd's view the modern concept "of what Egyptian priests, of any grade, were likely to know" is completely mistaken because "*there is no reason to believe that the average priest*—wēb *or even prophet*[32]*—would know a great deal of the past of his people*".[33] This is a radical underestimation of what the actual priests who were reading the written king-list to Herodotus and their learned colleagues in other great temples of the land might actually have known[34]—I mean of course a knowledge of "history"[35] and "past" in *their* terms,[36] that is, in terms that are very far from our own terms.[37]

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31 Cf. Harrison 2003.

32 For the hierarchy and organization of the Egyptian priesthood, cf. S. Sauneron: *Les prêtres de l'ancienne Égypte*. Paris 1957; B.E. Shafer: Temples, Priests, and Rituals: An Overview. in: Shafer (ed.) 1997 1–30 9 ff.; Clarysse 2010 287 ff.; Spencer 2010.

33 Lloyd 1975 95 (my italics).

34 Cf. Tait 2003 29 and see Moyer 2002.

35 Wilkinson's evaluation of early annals such as the Fifth Dynasty *Palermo Stone* ("the events recorded in the annals are not those of particular interest to modern historians [...] few, if any 'political' events are recorded") cannot be automatically extended to all later "historical" documents. Cf. T.A.H. Wilkinson: *Royal Annals of Ancient Egypt. The Palermo Stone and Its Associated Fragments*. London-New York 2000 62.

36 See A. Loprieno: The "King's Novel". in: Loprieno (ed.) 1996 277–295; C.J. Eyre: Is Egyptian Historical Literature "Historical" or "Literary"? ibid. 415–433; for the Kushite texts, see Török 2002 342 ff.—The better quality of the chronology beginning with the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty, i.e., the period close to Herodotus' time, as opposed to the first half of Egyptian history, may also be explained with reference to the concept of time in Egyptian historical memory. Cf. J. Assmann: Die Entdeckung der Vergangenheit. Innovation und Restauration in der ägyptischen Literaturgeschichte. in: H.U. Gumbrecht–U. Link-Heer (eds): *Epochenschwellen und Epochenstrukturen im Diskurs der Sprach- und Literaturgeschichte*. Frankfurt am Main 1985 484–499, and see recently Assmann 2011 *passim* and esp. 135 ff.

37 Cf. Assmann 1990b; Harrison 2003 3.—On "plausible Egyptian cultural representations that Herodotus may have gathered from Egyptian priests", see Moyer 2002 (the quotation is from p. 88). Moyer continues thus: "We must (...) modify the recent popular image of Herodotus the ethnographer, who does not discover, but rather creates through oppositional categories or 'grids' βάρβαροι useful to his overall project, in order to recognize the agency of the Egyptian priests and other non-Greek 'informants' ".

In Chapter 2.100 of the *Histories* the scene is the library[38] of the Ptah temple at Memphis; it is its learned keepers, the priests of the House of Life,[39] who are reciting the text containing the king-list. The corpus of the literary, "historical", ritual, theological, scientific, etc. texts found in Egypt,[40] a great part of which had actually been held, copied, edited, excerpted in temple libraries—and were explained to those who could not read them—gives a good idea of the richness and topical range of a library like the House of Life in the sanctuary of Ptah at Memphis. When imagining Herodotus' visit at the Ptah temple and his encounter with its learned priests, we have to bear in mind the highly significant fact that, unlike the libraries of other great Egyptian sanctuaries, the temple archives of Memphis survived the invasions of Piankhy (*c.* 735 BC), Esarhaddon (671 BC), Cambyses (525 BC), and Inaros (around 459 BC) without losses.[41]

It would thus seem that the correct explanation for what *Quellenkritik* interprets as weaknesses of Herodotus' history of Egypt does not lie in the intellectual quality and knowledge of the priests whom the historian had the opportunity to consult.[42] It lies rather in factors such as the special tendency and limitations of Herodotus' own curiosity and the natural limitations of his perception of what he may have been told about matters of Egyptian kingship[43] or religion.[44]

According to another conclusion of Lloyd (which actually contradicts his above-quoted verdict on the knowledge of the Egyptian priests) "*an authentic image* of Egyptian *kingship* was getting through to Herodotus".[45] This seems far too optimistic to me (cf. Chapter 5.1). Lloyd also points out, "the divinity of Pharaoh did not impress itself on Greek observers in practical contexts and was very far from being evident".[46] John Tait's well-meaning hypothesis,

38 Cf. V. Wessetzky: Bibliothek. *LÄ* I (1975) 783–785; G. Burkard: Bibliotheken im Alten Ägypten: Überlegungen zu Methodik ihres Nachweises und Übersicht zum Stand der Forschung. *Bibliothek. Forschung und Praxis* 4 (1980) 79–115; Quirke 1996b *passim* and 394 ff.

39 Cf. Quirke 1996b 397 f.

40 See Quirke 1996b *passim*.

41 For the evidence, see Redford 1986 320 f.

42 Cf. Tait 2003 29.

43 See below on Sesostris and Sabacos.

44 Harrison 2000 182 ff.—Lloyd (2002 432) notes that "although [Herodotus] knew a great deal of correct or largely correct detail, particularly on cult practice, he lacks any grasp of the concepts underpinning belief or ritual".—Herodotus does not understand Persian religion: Murray 2002 35 f.

45 Lloyd 2002 425 (my italics).

46 Lloyd 2002 427.

according to which "Herodotus may have been *deliberately discreet* about what he was told about Egyptian religion by the priests,"[47] may indeed be argued for on the basis of passages where Herodotus actually signals deliberate omission,[48] but this cannot be generalized. There is also the problem of the constant re-creation and re-invention of orally transmitted personal and social memories that occurs with every retelling, a topic intensely studied more recently by cognitive scientists.[49] Last but not least, the explanation for the "weaknesses" of the Egyptian *logos* lies in the difficulties of storing the information that Herodotus received. Thucydides plainly says that it was difficult for his informants as well as for himself "*to remember what was said*".[50]

I started this chapter quoting the first sentence of Chapter 99, Book II. The sentence introduces Herodotus' history of Egypt from Min to Amasis. The rest of Chapter 99 is devoted to the little what Herodotus could learn about Min.[51] The history of Egypt continues in Chapter 100 with the above-quoted remark about the priests of Ptah reciting for Herodotus the names of the three hundred and thirty monarchs, "in the same number of generations", ruling over Egypt between Min and Sethos (that is, Shebitqo[52]). The history of Egypt is related according to Herodotus' tripartite chronological scheme, i.e., 1) from Min to Moeris, 2) from Sesostris to Sethos, and 3) from the first to the last ruler of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty. The second part is separated from the third by a remark similar in content to the one made in Chapter 100 about the royal names recited from a written record. This time the scene is the great Amun temple at Thebes, and the informants are the priests of Amun:[53]

> Up to this point I have relied on the accounts given me by the Egyptians and their priests. They declare that three hundred and forty-one generations separate the first king of Egypt from (…) the priest of Hephaestus

47 Tait 2003 29 (my italics).

48 Harrison 2000 184–186 lists eleven passages of this kind, and classifies them as 1. omission of stories explaining religious iconography (2.46, 2.48, 2.51); 2. omission of stories explaining particular ritual practices (2.47, 2.48, 2.61, 2.62, 2.81, 2.171); 3. omission of mention of Osiris' name (2.61, 2.86, 2.132, 2.170).

49 Cf. A. Baddeley: *The Psychology of Memory*. London 1992; J. Goody: *The Power of the Written Tradition*. Washington 2000; Fernández-Armesto 2002 154ff.—See also Assmann 1992; Forsdyke 2006 226; Dorati 2011, etc.

50 Thucydides 1.22 (my italics); cf. Hornblower 2002 375.

51 Cf. also Hdt. 2.4.

52 Cf. Chapters 4.2, 5.1.

53 For the context, see Lloyd 2007 344ff.

> [= Sethos, i.e., Shebitqo] and that there was a king and a high priest corresponding to each generation. Now to reckon three generations as a hundred years, three hundred generations make ten thousand years, and the remaining forty-one generations make 1340 years more; thus one gets a total of 11,340 years[.][54]

Herodotus' emphatic praise of his Egyptian informants in Chapter 77 of Book II is not a mere literary device employed to impress and manipulate his listener/reader. It is a rare early reference to the significance of written historical records:

> The Egyptians who live in the cultivated parts of the country, by their practice of keeping records of the past, have made themselves much the most learned of any nation of which I have had experience.[55]

In an age when it was created only to serve as aide-mémoire,[56] Herodotus was impressed again and again by the *written evidence* referred to by his Egyptian informants and began to realize its importance as a fine source of information. While it was only some decades later that Plato fully appreciated the fact that Egyptian memory owed its remarkable depth to the preservation of written records that go back to the beginnings of man's history,[57] the encounters with the Egyptian king-lists at Memphis and Thebes shaped Herodotus' outlook even more profoundly because these records revealed to him *the dimensions of the past.* His calculation of 11,340 years is of course erroneous. Near Eastern king-lists, also including the Egyptian king-lists shown to Herodotus, contained reign-lengths, which precluded the misleading equation of reign and generation. When choosing to conform to the Greek concept of ἀρχαιολογία, i.e., early history, however, Herodotus chose to omit reign-lengths, reducing his chronologies to genealogical data[58] and thus multiplying the length of Egyptian history.

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54 2.142, trans. de Sélincourt–Marincola 2003 153 f.

55 Trans. de Sélincourt–Marincola 2003 125. Cf. Vannicelli 2001 214.

56 R. Thomas: *Oral Tradition and Written Record in Classical Athens*. Cambridge 1989 15–94; ead.: *Literacy and Orality in Ancient Greece*. Cambridge 1992 74 ff.

57 *Tim.* 23.4; discussed by Luraghi 2001b 154.—I cannot fully agree with Asheri's circular argument (Asheri 2007a 19) that the importance of written sources for Herodotus should not be overestimated, for the attribution of oral statements to written texts does not agree with the methods of early Greek ethnography and history.

58 Vannicelli 2001 235.

The account of Herodotus' visit at Thebes continues with a confrontation of the dimensions of human history as seen by Herodotus' Greek predecessors and contemporaries with the dimensions of history as revealed to Herodotus by the Egyptian priests. It is Hecataeus of Miletus, the man who made the first stealthy steps towards separating history from myth some fifty years before Herodotus, who personifies here the Greek historians:

> When the *logos*-maker [λογοποιός][59] Hecataeus was in Thebes, the priests of Zeus [= Amun], after listening to him trace his family back to a god in the sixteenth generation, did to him precisely what they did to me—though, unlike Hecataeus, I kept clear of personal genealogies. They took me into the great hall of the temple, and showed me the wooden statues[60] there, which they counted; and the number was just what I have said, for each high priest has a statue of himself erected before he dies. As they showed them to me, and counted them up, beginning with the statue of the high priest who had last died, and going on from him right through the whole number, they assured me that each had been the son of the one who preceded him. When Hecataeus traced his genealogy and connected himself with a god sixteen generations back, the priests refused to believe him, and denied that any man had ever had a divine ancestor. They countered his claim by tracing the descent of their own high priests, pointing out that each of the statues represented a "*piromis*" (a word which means something like "gentleman"[61]) who was the son of another "*piromis*", and made no attempts to connect them with either a god or a hero. Such, then, were the beings represented by the statues; they were far from being gods—they were men.[62]

Returning to the Aithiopian information provided by Herodotus' sources (I do not mean here the pieces deriving from the Greek tradition or Persian sources), it is to be repeated that its character indicates first of all native priestly informants. On the following pages I shall try to find an answer to the question:

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59 de Sélincourt–Marincola 2003 154 have "historian".

60 κολοσσοὺς ξυλίνους. Undue generalization, the majority of the statuary was of stone, as it is also indicated by the statue cachette discovered in the Amun temple at Karnak, cf. C. Traunecker–J.-C. Golvin: *Karnak: Résurrection d'un site*. Fribourg 1984; J.A. Josephson–M.M. Eldamaty: *Catalogue Général of Egyptian Antiquities in the Cairo Museum, Nos 48601–48649: Statues of the XXVth and XXVIth Dynasties*. Cairo 1999.

61 *Piromis* derives actually from Egyptian *pꜣ rmṯ*, "the man", cf. Lloyd 2007 345.

62 2.143, trans. de Sélincourt–Marincola 2003 154.

What was the priests' source for the particular pieces of information that found their way into the Aithiopian passages of the *Histories*?

1.1 *Excursus 2: Herodotus' Priestly Informants and the Explanation of the Nile Flood*

Herodotus was upset about the general ignorance of the causes of the Nile flood:[63]

> About why the Nile behaves precisely as it does I could get no information from the priests or anybody else. What I particularly wished to know was why the water begins to rise at the summer solstice, continues to do so for a hundred days, and then falls again at the end of that period, so that it remains low throughout the winter until the summer solstice comes round again in the following year. Nobody in Egypt could give me any explanation of this, in spite of my constant attempts to find out what was the peculiar property which made the Nile behave in the opposite way to other rivers and why—another point on which I hoped for information—it was the only river to cause no breezes. Certain Greeks (…) have tried to account for the flooding of the Nile in three different ways. Two of the explanations are not worth dwelling upon (…) The third theory is much the most plausible, but at the same time furthest from the truth[.][64]

Herodotus made his attempts at getting information about the issue at some place in Lower Egypt.[65] His informants reinforced him in his conviction that there is no rainfall, frost, or snow in Aithiopia. Consequently, rainfall or snow cannot cause the inundation of the Nile (2.20–22).[66] They were not aware that, resurrecting the traditional Egyptian association of the rain with the inundation of the "heavenly Nile",[67] some learned priests of the Saite period brought rainfall into a connection with the inundation of the river Nile. An inscription from Tanis[68] attributes the flood to the benevolence of the goddess

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63 Cf. Bonneau 1964 188 ff.; Kaiser 1968 205 f.

64 2.19–20, trans. de Sélincourt–Marincola 2003 102 f.

65 Sourdille 1910 15 ff.; Lloyd 2007 254. For the Greek theories on the causes of the Nile flood and for its actual meteorological causes, see Bonneau 1964 135 ff.; Lloyd 1976 91 ff.

66 Cf. Bonneau 1964 161 ff.

67 S. Sauneron: Un thème littéraire de l' Antiquité classique: Le Nil et la pluie. *BIFAO* 51 (1952) 41–48.

68 W.M.F. Petrie: *Tanis* II. London 1888 Pl. XLII/15; Bonneau 1964 195 f.

Neith who saved the army of Psamtek I from destruction in this way. Long before the Tanis inscription, however, the causal connections between divine intervention on behalf of the ruler, the ruler's creative power, rainfall, and inundation were already described in a text composed by the learned priests of Amun of Kawa in remote Nubia. One of King Taharqo's hieroglyphic stelae erected in the temple of Amun at Kawa[69] records the "four goodly wonders" that were the consequences of an exceptionally high Nile in the king's sixth regnal year, *c.* 685 BC,[70] namely, a good cultivation everywhere, the destruction of rodents and vermin, the warding-off of locusts, and the prevention of the south wind blighting the crops. The extraordinary inundation is brought into connection with the rainfall as follows:

> [T]he sky (even) rained in Bow-land (Nubia);
> and adorned the hills.
> Every man of Bow-land was inundated with an abundance of everything,
> Black(-land) (Egypt) was in beautiful festival,
> and they thanked god for His Majesty.[71]

The "four goodly wonders" are embedded into the conceptual framework of a manifestation of the king's legitimacy. The flood and its consequences are termed "wonder", *bjꜣjt*. Wonders of this sort[72] demonstrate the creative power conferred by the gods upon the king.

2 Sesostris in Nubia

Herodotus opens Chapter 2.110 of the *Histories* with a remark about Sesostris as "the only Egyptian king to rule Aithiopia" (Text 1). He proceeds then to tell about the statues Sesostris erected to himself, his wife, and four sons[73] in front of the

69 Copenhagen Æ.I.N. 1712; *FHN* I No. 22. Cf. also Vikentieff 1930 63.

70 It is the most completely preserved version of the account of the exceptionally high Nile in Year 6. Three other versions were inscribed on stelae erected at Coptos, Matanah (Vikentieff 1930), and Tanis (Leclant–Yoyotte 1949 31 f.).

71 *FHN* I 151, trans. R.H. Pierce.

72 Cf. Grimal 1986 264 ff., 506 ff.

73 Lloyd 1988a 36 f. speculates that Herodotus' statues are actually identical with the colossi of Rameses II erected at the south gate of the temenos of the Ptah temple. For the colossi, among them a recarved statue of Senusret I, cf. Arnold 1992 193 ff.

temple of Hephaestus (= Ptah) at Memphis,[74] and relates how the (high) priest of Hephaestus would prevent Darius from erecting his own statue in front of Sesostris' statues, reminding him that "his deeds had not been as great as the deeds of Sesostris the Egyptian",[75] whereupon Darius honourably refrains from his intention.[76]

Alan Lloyd argues[77] that the main features of the "Sesostris legend"[78] (2.102–110) derive from the combination of two different traditions,[79] viz., the historical memory of the Egyptian conquest of Lower Nubia in the Middle Kingdom (2055–1650 BC) and the ensuing establishment of its military defence and civil government under the Twelfth Dynasty ruler Senusret III (1870–1831 BC),[80] on the one hand, and the "nationalist propaganda" unfolding in Late Period Egypt, on the other.[81] Herodotus' Sesostris reflects indeed the traditional pharaonic image of ideal regency. Egyptian historical memory concentrated the glories of the Middle Kingdom in general and the Nubian conquests of the Twelfth Dynasty in particular in the persons of Senusret I (1956–1911 BC)[82] and his third successor Senusret III.[83] The Sesostris appearing in Herodotus' Egyptian *logos* is their mixture, complemented by features of the great New Kingdom ruler Rameses II.[84]

In reality, Sesostris' originals, Senusret I and Senusret III, were not the only Egyptian kings to rule parts or the whole of Nubia. After a series of shorter

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74 Lloyd 1988a 36 f. For recent archaeological work at the temple, see literature in Arnold 1994 198.

75 Trans. de Sélincourt–Marincola 2003 136.

76 For the integration of Cambyses and Darius I into Egyptian kingship ideology, see the evidence discussed in Vittmann 2011 377 ff.—For the temple-building activities of Cambyses and Darius I, see M. Cool Root: *The King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art*. Leiden 1979 (*non vidi*); Arnold 1999 92. For the positive image of Darius I as lawgiver in the Egyptian tradition cf. Vittmann 2011 387 f.—For Xerxes I as godless ruler in the Egyptian evidence: Vittmann 2011 396 f.

77 Lloyd 1988a 36; 2007 320.

78 For the Sesostris tradition in the *Histories*, cf. C. Obsomer: *Les campagnes de Sésostris dans Hérodote: essai d'interprétation du texte grec à la lumière des réalités égyptiennes*. Bruxelles 1989. See also Malaise 1966.

79 Kemp 1983 130 ff.; Callender 2000 160 ff.

80 For the evidence, see Callender 2000 165 ff.; Török 2009 79 ff.

81 Lloyd 1982a.

82 W.K. Simpson: Sesostris I. *LÄ* V (1984) 889–899.

83 W.K. Simpson: Sesostris III. *LÄ* V (1984) 903–906.

84 Cf. Sethe 1900; Malaise 1966; L. Kákosy: Sésostris et Sérapis. *StudAeg* 2 (1976) 185–187; Lloyd 1982a; Lloyd 1988a 37; de Sélincourt–Marincola 2003 640 note 57; Assmann 2011 264 f.

or longer periods of Egyptian occupation in Lower Nubia during the Old and the Middle Kingdoms, Nubia to the Fourth Cataract came under Egyptian domination in the fifteenth century[85] and remained so to the end of the New Kingdom in the eleventh century BC.[86] Lower Nubia came under Egyptian domination again in 593 BC and remained so until the middle of the fifth century BC, that is, to Herodotus' own time (cf. Chapters 1.3, 4.2). Turning Sesostris' conquest into a unique achievement, the intention of Herodotus (or his source) was to create a contrast to Cambyses who would disastrously fail in his attempt to conquer Nubia (3.25–26, here Chapter 2, Text 7, cf. Chapter 4.9).

Such a use of the memory of great rulers and the glories of the past cannot be described simply as calculated "political propaganda".[87] It is a regular feature of the cultural behaviour termed archaism,[88] i.e., the revival of concepts and expressive means from earlier periods of history in the arts, religion, language, writing, and official titularies. The aim was the re-formulation of political and social self-identity.[89] Egyptian archaism is described conventionally as being characterized by an indiscriminate reuse of concepts and forms from any period of the past without creating contexts in which reference to a single particular period or historical figure would predominate.[90] As opposed to the conventional view, however, the cultural behaviour of archaizing was a normative procedure in which the historical past was mythologized and at the same time pragmatically included into the context of the historical present.[91]

Archaism was not an exclusive feature of the Late Period. It occurred in earlier periods of Egyptian history as well. New beginnings after ruptures in political and/or cultural continuity were supported by references to the past

85 For the process of the conquest, see Trigger 1976; B.M. Bryan: The Eighteenth Dynasty before the Amarna Period (*c.* 1550–1352 BC). in: Shaw (ed.) 2000 218–271 232 ff.; Török 2009 157 ff.

86 There is a vast literature on the Egyptian domination in Nubia, from which I list here seven studies of particular importance, viz., Säve-Söderbergh 1941; Trigger 1976; Kemp 1978; Zibelius-Chen 1988; M. Liverani: *Prestige and Interest*. Padova 1990; Smith 1995; Smith 2003.—For the Lower Nubian region, see Török 2009.

87 The term is all too anachronistic.

88 For the term cf. H. Brunner: Zum Verständnis der archaisierenden Tendenzen in der Spätzeit. *Saeculum* 21 (1970) 151–162; id.: Archaismus. *LÄ* I (1973) 386–395; Manuelian 1994 xxxv ff.

89 See recently Assmann 2011 261 ff.

90 For a review of other earlier interpretations of the archaizing spirit, see Manuelian 1994 xxxv ff.

91 Cf. Assmann 1996 375 ff. and esp. 379; A. Loprieno: *La pensée et l'écriture. Pour une analyse sémiotique de la culture égyptienne*. Paris 2001 92; Assmann 2011 272 ff.

or by its more systematic textual and/or visual "re-establishment". Dynasty founders and rulers ascending the throne after catastrophes proclaimed eras of *wḥm msw.t,* "repeating the birth",[92] or to use a more familiar term, "renaissance".[93] The Twelfth Dynasty revived the artistic forms of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties, founded cults for their rulers, and canonized the literature of the Old Kingdom.[94] In turn, the period of Rameses II discovered the art of the Twelfth Dynasty as a suitable medium for the visual articulation of the break with Amarna.[95]

We do not need to remain at these generalities when trying to locate the source of Nubia's association with the memory of the great Sesostris. Archaism is one of the most symptomatic features of the culture of the Twenty-Fifth and Twenty-Sixth Dynasties, i.e., the periods of Egypt's Nubian pharaohs Piankhy (755 [?]–721 BC[96]), Shabaqo (722/21–707 BC), Shebitqo (707/6–690 BC), Taharqo (690–664 BC) and Tanwetamani (664–656 BC[97]) and of the Saite Twenty-Sixth Dynasty (664–525 BC) which reunified Egypt after the Assyrian conquest and Tanwetamani's withdrawal to Nubia.[98] We are concerned here especially with

92 For the term "pharaonic renaissance", see, e.g., F. Tiradritti (ed.): *Egyptian Renaissance. Archaism and the Sense of History in Ancient Egypt* [catalogue of the exhibition in the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, August 8–November 9 2008]. Budapest 2008, esp. E. Pischikova: The Pharaonic Renaissance (25th and 26th Dynasties) ibid. 81–89.

93 They also included the notion of "repeating the birth" into their royal titularies, cf. Blumenthal 1970 438; W. Barta: *Untersuchungen zur Göttlichkeit des regierenden Königs*. München 1975 59; Grimal 1986 586 f.; Assmann 1992 32 f.; Kitchen 1996 §§ 2, 14.

94 Cf. Redford 1986 151 ff.; Assmann 1992 32 f.

95 Cf. J. van Dijk: The Amarna Period and the Later New Kingdom (*c.* 1352–1069 BC). in: Shaw (ed.) 2000 272–313 299 f.; Assmann 2011 264 ff. See also the fascinating case of the New Kingdom reuse of a Middle Kingdom tomb at Assiut as "eine Art Schrein des kulturellen Gedächtnisses" (Assmann 2011 265), U. Verhoeven: Von der 'Loyalistischen Lehre' zur 'Lehre des Kairsu'. *ZÄS* 136 (2009) 87–98.

96 I give here the regnal years of Piankhy, Shabaqo, and Shebitqo according to Kahn 2001; cf. D. Kahn: Divided Kingdom, Co-regency or Sole Rule in the Kingdom(s) of Egypt-and-Kush. *Ägypten und Levante* 16 (2006) 275–291; id.: Was There a Co-regency in the 25th Dynasty? *MittSAG* 17 (2006) 135–141.

97 For the counting of his regnal years, cf. Chapter 4.4. For his reign and monuments, see Breyer 2003.

98 In twentieth-century Egyptology, the notion of archaism was associated with the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty. For the "discovery" of Kushite archaism, cf. B.V. Bothmer: The Signs of Age. *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts* 49 (1951) 69–74 (= Bothmer 2004 25–38); *ESLP*; Russmann 1974; B.V. Bothmer: Egyptian Antecedents of Roman Republican Verism. *Quaderni de "La ricerca scientifica"* 116 (1984) 47–65 (= Bothmer 2004 407–431); Török 1997a 189–196.

the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty period and the myth of the state[99] created in the time of the Nubian pharaohs ruling over the double kingdom of Egypt and Kush.

To reinforce its legitimacy in Egypt, Piankhy's dynasty emulated the great pharaohs of the past by starting monumental temple construction works throughout Egypt, first of all at Thebes and Memphis, recreating thus the ideal relationship between the ruler and the gods and restoring the holiness of Egypt's ancient religious centres.[100] One of the most important monuments of Twenty-Fifth Dynasty archaism, the *Memphite Theology of Creation*, written under Shabaqo,[101] identifies the Nubian dynasty with Horus, vanquisher of Seth.[102] Memphis appears in it as the "primeval hill", i.e., the original place of creation and Egypt's first capital founded by Horus himself.[103] The *Memphite Theology of Creation* declared thus that by setting about to reunify the land, the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty was re-enacting the original creation of Egypt. For the visual propagation of the Nubian dynasts' creative mission, the experts turned to the mythical depths of historical memory. They revived forms and expressive means from the Old and Middle Kingdoms, the monuments of which were omnipresent in the visual world of Memphis.[104]

Formulating the myth of the state and the governmental structure in the Nubian half of their double kingdom, the rulers of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty restored cults that had been implanted in Nubia by the Twelfth Dynasty

99 Cf. Chapter 4.9.

100 Assmann 1996 431.

101 For the *Memphite Theology of Creation* inscribed on the *Shabako/Shabaqo Stone* BM 498, see A. Erman: *Ein Denkmal memphitischer Theologie*. Berlin 1911; H. Junker: *Die Götterlehre von Memphis*. Berlin 1940; M. Lichtheim: *Ancient Egyptian Literature* I. *The Old and Middle Kingdoms*. Berkeley-Los Angeles 1973 51–57. For its dating, see F. Junge: Zur Fehldatierung des sog. Denkmals memphitischer Theologie oder Der Beitrag der ägyptischen Theologie zur Geistesgeschichte der Spätzeit. *MDAIK* 29 (1973) 195–204; and cf. J. Assmann: Rezeption und Auslegung in Ägypten. Das "Denkmal memphitischer Theologie" als Auslegung der heliopolitanischen Kosmogonie. *Orbis biblicus et orientalis* 153 (1997) 125–138; Assmann 2011 274 ff.

102 Cf. H. te Velde: *Seth, God of Confusion: A Study of His Role in Egyptian Mythology and Religion*. Leiden 1977.

103 Memphis as Egypt's "most ancient and royal city": Diodorus 15.43. For the history of Memphis cf. H. Kees: Memphis. *RE* XV.1 (1931) 660–688; Zivie 1982. For the importance of Memphis and of the priests of the city in the Egyptian state in the first millennium BC, cf. also Redford 1986 297 ff.

104 Cf. W.M.F. Petrie: *Memphis* I–V. London 1909–1915; R. Anthes: *Mit Rahineh 1955*. Philadelphia 1959; id.: *Mit Rahineh 1956*. Philadelphia 1965; Zivie 1982; D.G. Jeffreys: *The Survey of Memphis* I. London 1985.

conquerors and later were adopted as traditional local cults by the New Kingdom conquerors. The cults of, e.g., the local Horus gods,[105] of the god Dedwen,[106] and the deified Senusret III had special features due to their origins in, or long coexistence with, native Nubian cults.[107] Their Twenty-Fifth Dynasty revival was well aware of these features.[108] The cult of Senusret III in the Nubian kingdom of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty was built on a local cult tradition established originally in the Second Cataract region, i.e., at the southern confines of the Twelfth Dynasty conquest. In the frontier region, which was dominated by a chain of seventeen formidable forts,[109] Senusret III erected monumental inscriptions presenting him as an ideal ruler,[110] and temple cults of the deified Senusret III were established at several places. Four centuries later, the New Kingdom Egyptian overlords expanding the southern frontier of Egyptian Nubia to the Fourth Cataract region revived Senusret III's cult in Nubia. They established cults of the deified Middle Kingdom conqueror at Ellesiya, Qasr Ibrim, Gebel Agg, Buhen, Uronarti, Semna, Kumma, and Gebel Dosha.[111] With the Egyptian withdrawal in the eleventh century BC the Nubian cult of Senusret III did not come to an end at all of these places: it survived at Semna West in the Thutmoside temple dedicated to Dedwen and the deified Senusret III.[112]

105 The local cults of the "Horus gods of *Tꜣ-sty* (Nubia)" emerged in the course of the Middle Kingdom occupation. From the early Eighteenth Dynasty onwards we meet the cults of Horus "Lord of *Bꜣkj* (Kuban)", Horus "Lord of *Mꜥm* (Aniba)", Horus "Lord of *Bhn* (Buhen)", and, somewhat later, Horus "Lord of *M-ḥꜣ* (Abu Simbel)", cf. Säve-Söderbergh 1941 201 f.

106 Dedwen appears as "Lord of *Tꜣ-sty* (*Nubia*)" ever since the *Pyramid Texts* and it is supposed that the Nubian Horus gods derived from him, cf. Säve-Söderbergh 1941 201.

107 For a detailed survey of the evidence, see Török 2009 211 ff.; for the cult of the deified Senusret III cf. also K. El-Enany: Le "dieu" nubien Sésostris III. *BIFAO* 104 (2004) 207–213.

108 For example, in the abacus text program of the court of Piankhy's Amun temple at Napata (Dunham 1970 fig. 40; Török 2002 59 ff.) it was the invocation of the deified Senusret III and Dedwen that symbolized the integration of Lower Nubia into the sacred geography of Piankhy's double, Nubian and Egyptian, kingdom.

109 For the forts, cf. B.B. Williams: Nubian Forts. in: Bard (ed.) 1999 574–579.

110 Cf. C.J. Eyre: The Semna Stelae: Quotation, Genre, and Functions of Literature. in: S. Israelit-Groll (ed.): *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim*. Jerusalem 1990 136–165.

111 For the evidence, see Török 2009 211 ff.

112 For the temple building, see Dunham–Janssen 1960 12 f., 32 ff.; P. Wolf: *Die archäologischen Quellen der Taharqozeit im nubischen Niltal*. Unpubl. PhD dissertation, Berlin 1990 31 ff., 112 ff. The temple was dismantled and is now rebuilt in Khartoum in the garden of the Sudan National Museum.—For a dating of the inscription and the relief of Queen Kadimalo to the post-New Kingdom/pre-Twenty-Fifth Dynasty period and their interpretation,

The much-discussed inscription and relief[113] of the enigmatic Queen Kadimalo on the temple front may be interpreted as an indication of the continuity of the cult of Senusret III between the Egyptian withdrawal and the emergence of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty. Taharqo restored the temple building and built next to it a brick temple dedicated to the deified Middle Kingdom pharaoh. In the new temple Taharqo also sponsored a fine stand for the barque of the deified Senusret III.[114] Most significantly, Taharqo refers to Senusret III in the inscription of the stand as his father, revealing thus that the very pharaoh of Egypt who completed Lower Nubia's conquest was worshiped in the Semna West temple as a source of the royal legitimacy of a Nubian king who became ruler of Egypt.[115]

Several Kushite rulers laid special emphasis on their association with the great pharaohs of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom by adopting elements of their royal titularies. In the eighth century BC Kashta adopted the Throne name *Ny-Mꜣꜥt-Rꜥ*, "He-who-belongs-to-Re's Order", of Amenemhat III.[116] Piankhy adopted Mentuhotep III's Throne name *Snfr-Rꜥ*, "Whom-Re-Makes-Beautiful".[117] In the seventh century BC Aspelta assumed the Throne name *Mry-kꜣ-Rꜥ* "Re-is-One-whose-*ka*-is-loved",[118] a name appearing in the titulary of several Middle Kingdom rulers.[119] In the fifth century BC Malowiebamani[120] adopted Senusret I's Throne name *Ḫpr-kꜣ-Rꜥ*, "Re-is-One-whose-*ka*-is-manifest".[121]

The iconographical program of the "Taharqo Shrine", a chapel associated with royal investiture in the Amun temple at Kawa,[122] is composed of reliefs depicting the legitimation of King Taharqo by three divine families, viz., Amun of Kawa with Satis and two forms of Anukis, Amun of Thebes with Mut and Khonsu, and Ptah-Nun "the great" with Sekhmet and Nefertum. The presence

see *FHN* I No. 1; Darnell 2006; for the discussion about Darnell's interpretation: Török 2008; Török 2009 284–318; and see the review of Darnell's book by K. Zibelius-Chen, *BiOr* 64 (2007) 377–387.

113 Darnell 2006 does not discuss the iconography of the relief.

114 *PM* VII 149.

115 Senusret III is referred to in the inscription with his Throne name *ḫꜥ-kꜣw-Rꜥ*, see Dunham–Janssen 1960 12, 33, Pls 36–38.

116 *FHN* I No. (3).

117 *FHN* I No. (5), cf. von Beckerath 1984 64.

118 *kꜣ*: "life force", "spirit", "soul", cf. J. Assmann: *Tod und Jenseits im Alten Ägypten*. München 2001 116 ff.

119 *FHN* I No. (35); Valbelle 2012 22 ff.

120 *FHN* I No. (55).

121 Cf. Török 2002 339 f. Table A.

122 Macadam 1955 99, Pls XVII/b, XXIII/a, XXVII/a, LX/a; Török 2002 89 ff., 113 ff., 118 ff.

of Ptah of Memphis as Taharqo's father, i.e., one of the sources of his rulership and divine nature, in the Kawa program points toward the intellectual milieu in which the *Memphite Theology of Creation* was conceived. It is in this latter discourse on the creation of the world that we read about the identity of Ptah with Nun, the god of primeval water.[123] The influence of the Memphite cult of Ptah on the concept of the legitimacy of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty kings as rulers of Kush is obvious.[124]

In the background of Herodotus' mention of Sesostris as "the only Egyptian king to rule Aithiopia," one may thus discern a tradition that combined the Kushite dynasty's attitude towards the great rulers of the past with the revival of the New Kingdom cult of the Twelfth Dynasty conqueror as a Nubian "local god". More about Herodotus' Twenty-Fifth Dynasty will be said in Chapter 4.4.

3 Excursus 3: A Note on Ancient Nubian Archives

The Nubian tradition of assuming names from titularies of earlier rulers as an expression of the new ruler's political program (cf. Chapter 4.2) could not have been activated without archives containing written records collected and preserved for many centuries. The titles "reused" by the priests when they designed the names of a new ruler derived from archival material that included not only a collection of titularies, but also some information about the "history" of their earlier owners.[125] However indirectly, the preserved royal titularies give a good general idea of the chronological and topical range of the textual material that was once held in the archives of the great Kushite temples.

The Kushite five-part royal titulary was modelled on the traditional titulary of the Egyptian pharaoh. From time immemorial, the Egyptian royal titulary was the most general and concentrated manifestation of royal power.[126] Like in

123 The *Memphite Theology of Creation*, lines 50 f. Cf. R. Grieshammer: Nun. *LÄ* IV (1981) 534–535.

124 For the Nubian evidence, see Török 2002 89 ff.

125 No guess can be made concerning the origins and character of these materials. For Egyptian king-lists, see Redford 1986 1–64. See also Assmann 1990b 10 ff. For the factors motivating historical memory cf. also D. Wildung: *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige im Bewusstsein ihrer Nachwelt* I. Berlin 1969; L. Kákosy: Urzeitmythen und Historiographie im alten Ägypten. in: *Selected Papers (1956–73)*. (*StudAeg* 8). Budapest 1981 93–104.

126 For the Egyptian royal titulary, cf. Blumenthal 1970; Grimal 1986; von Beckerath 1984 1–40; P. Kaplony: Königstitulatur. *LÄ* III (1979) 641–659; M.-A. Bonhême: *Les noms royaux dans l'Égypte de la troisième période intermédiaire*. Le Caire 1987; Baines 1995b 125–128;

Egypt, the Kushite titulary presented a general statement on the most important concepts connected to the institution of kingship, and at the same time hinted at the religious policy and political goals to be realized by the ruler.[127] It consisted 1) of the Horus name referring to the king as incarnation of Horus; 2) the *Nebty*- or Two Ladies name referring originally to the tutelary goddesses of the two parts of Egypt, in Kush to territorial kingship; 3) the *Ḥr-nb* or Golden Horus name (originally referring probably to the radiant sunlit sky, its special significance in Kush is obscure); 4) the *nswt-bỉty* or Throne name; and finally 5) the *sꜣ-Rꜥ* or private/birth name presenting the ruler as son of the sun-god Re. In Egypt the royal titulary was composed by expert lector-priests;[128] in Kush by prophets of Amun[129] affiliated with the great Amun temple at Napata.[130] Many of the Kushite titularies included Egyptian titles selected from a large corpus of models ranging in time from the Old Kingdom to contemporary titularies.

According to the *Stela of King Nastasene from Year 8*[131] (fourth century BC), the creation of the titulary was the very first act of the enthronement rites. It was performed before the king would be initiated into his royal office during the course of a royal oracle:

> I reached the Great House. They [made obeisance] to me, (to wit) all the notables and priests of Amun. They blessed me, (to wit) every mouth. I had (everyone) go up and opened the great portals. They made for me […] to make my titulary […], making *ʾIpt-swt* and the House of Gold[132] great.[133]

It may be presumed that the titulary was widely published, accompanying or substituting royal representations. As a genre of royal literature, it was probably

R. Gundlach: *Der Pharao und sein Staat. Die Grundlegung der ägyptischen Königsideologie im 4. und 3. Jahrtausend*. Darmstadt 1998 17–23, etc.

127 For the Kushite royal titularies, see D. Dunham–M.F.L. Macadam: Names and Relationships of the Royal Family of Napata. *JEA* 35 (1949) 139–149; *FHN* I–III *passim*. For the titularies and their models, see Török 1997a 200–206; for the models of the names, see in greater detail *FHN* I–III *passim*.

128 Cf. the *Udjahorresnet Inscription*, Vatican Museum 158 (113), Lichtheim 1980 36 ff.

129 In the *Stela of King Nastasene from Year 8* (see next note): *ḥm-nṯr*.

130 *Stela of King Nastasene from Year 8*, Berlin 2268, *Urk*. III.2 137–152; *FHN* II No. 84, lines 13–15.

131 See the previous notes.

132 *ʾIpt-swt* (= Karnak) and *Pr-nbw*, "the House of Gold": names of the great Amun temple at Napata.

133 *FHN* II 478, trans. R.H. Pierce.

also ceremonially recited by itself or more probably as part of a eulogy. The temple scriptoria-cum-archives in Twenty-Fifth-Dynasty and Napatan-period Kush were modelled on the Egyptian New Kingdom/Late Period "House of Life" (cf. Chapter 4.1). The principal temples functioned as "national archives" of historical memory.

The texts from Napata and Kawa display features that indicate the existence of local literary traditions.[134] Besides the monumental inscriptions exhibited in the same temple,[135] the temples possessed other texts as well that could be used in the composition of the royal and temple inscriptions. The topical range of these texts is indicated by the quotations we find inserted in the preserved inscriptions. Besides quotations from literary and non-literary texts imported from Egypt,[136] we find citations from Kushite royal inscriptions erected in far-away temples.[137]

4 Sabacos in Egypt

In the history of Egypt to the reign of Amasis (2.99–182) there are two passages, namely, 2.137+139 (here Chapter 2, Text 2) and 2.152 (here Chapter 2, Text 3) dealing with the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty. Chapters 2.137+139 relate that the rule of King Anysis "from the city of Anysis"[138]—a blind man, direct successor to King Asychis—ended with an invasion of the Aithiopians led by their king Sabacos/Sabacon (Σαβακῶν). To escape from Sabacos' army, Anysis fled "into the marshes" (ἐς τὰ ἕλεα) where he lived on the island of Elbo (2.140). As promised him by an oracle that he received in Aithiopia before he had launched his Egyptian campaign, Sabacos reigned for fifty years over Egypt. Fulfilling the time foretold for his rule, he had a dream in which he received a bewildering counsel (for the dream, see further below). Sabacos did not follow it, for he believed that the gods sent the dream "to provoke him to sacrilege and involve him in some disaster at the hands of either gods or men". He withdrew instead voluntarily to Aithiopia. "After the departure of the Aithiopian",

134 Cf. Török 2002 413ff.

135 A significant Egyptian example is worth quoting here. Namely, according to Josephus, *Contra Apionem* 1.14, 73 and Syncellus (see Waddell [ed.] 1940 208), Manetho used temple stelae as sources for his work. See also Redford 1986 65ff.

136 For examples, see Doll 1982.

137 For the issue, see Török 2002 335ff.

138 Lloyd 2007 339 suggests that the city of Anysis may be identical with Heracleopolis Parva, Egyptian *Nni-nsw*.

adds Herodotus, “the blind Anysis returned from the marsh-country (…) and resumed the government of Egypt”.[139]

Herodotus returns to the history of Sabacos’ regency in a brief digression in Chapter 152 of Book II (here Chapter 2, Text 3). The framing narrative (2.151–153) relates the dramatic vagaries[140] in the rise of Psammetichus, i.e., Psamtek I of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty (664–610 BC).[141] The actual topic of Chapter 152 is the second of Psammetichus’ exiles, but the historian also recalls there his first exile to Assyria,[142] where he “had (…) fled the Aithiopian Sabacos, who had killed his father Necos,” and tells about the end of the exile “when the Aithiopian withdrew as a result of the dream he had had [and] the Egyptians from the nome of Sais” called him back to Egypt.

Kitchen[143] and Lloyd[144] suggest that King Asychis (2.136), while standing for the entire Twenty-Second Dynasty,[145] is actually identical with Sheshonq I[146] (945–924 BC). Dan’el Kahn does not exclude the possibility that he is identical with Sheshonq V (767–730 BC).[147] His successor Anysis was equated rather improbably[148] with Osorkon IV (730–715 BC) of the Twenty-Third Dynasty[149] or with Bakenranef/Bocchoris (720–715 BC), the only ruler of the Twenty-Fourth Dynasty.[150] It was also suggested that Anysis stands for the entire Twenty-Third Dynasty. It is worth noting here that blindness was considered a divine punishment in pharaonic Egypt.[151] E.g., in 2.111 Herodotus’ King Pheros (from Egyptian *pr-ꜥꜣ*, “pharaoh”)[152] is blind for ten years as a punishment for his godless rage against an excessive Nile flood.[153]

139 2.140, trans. de Sélincourt–Marincola 2003 152.
140 Lloyd 1975 145.
141 Cf. Lloyd 1988b 50 f.; 2007 353.
142 Herodotus has erroneously ἐς Συρίην, cf. Kitchen 1996 353 note 883; Lloyd 2007 353.
143 Kitchen 1996 301.
144 Lloyd 1988a 88 ff.
145 Lloyd 1988a 90 f.; 2007 339.
146 Lloyd 2007 338 suggests that the name Ἄσυχιν derives from Egyptian *Ššnk*.
147 Kahn 2003 50.
148 Kahn 2003 51 f.
149 Kitchen 1996 583.
150 Lloyd 1988a 91 f.
151 Cf. H. de Meulenaere: La légende de Phéros d’après Hérodote (II, 111). *CdÉ* 28 (1953) 248–260.
152 According to Herodotus, Pheros was the son of Sesostris. For the folkloristic motifs in 2.111, see Lloyd 1988a 39.
153 Cf. Harrison 2000 239 with note 37.

Since Σαβακῶν is a good rendering of Egyptian *Š3-b3-k3*, Sabacos/Sabacon is considered to be identical with King Shabaqo[154] who would, however, stand for the entire Twenty-Fifth Dynasty.[155] According to Lloyd, Sabacos' fifty years correspond roughly to the duration of the "permanent Ethiopian presence in Egypt",[156] i.e., the total of the reigns of Shabaqo, Shebitqo, and Taharqo. Manetho[157] includes into his history only these three kings (his Sabacon, Sebichos and Taracos), assigning to them a total of 40 or 44 regnal years. In reality, the three Nubians' regency totals *c.* 58 years. Jürgen von Beckerath[158] explains Manetho's omission of Piankhy suggesting that he included only those Kushites who were accepted in the whole of Egypt, a notion which seems unrealistic not only from the viewpoint of modern Egyptology. The passages on the *dodecarchy* (2.147–148, 151–152; see here Chapter 1.3[159]) actually introduce the account of Psamtek I's reign. The notion of the "reign of the twelve kings" derives from the memory of the fragmented Egypt of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and Assyrian periods.[160] Manetho's (or his source's) criteria as to the composition of a selective Twenty-Fifth Dynasty king-list remain obscure. So much is probable that his omission of Tanwetamani corresponds to the Saite tradition.[161] Psamtek I reckoned his regnal years directly from Taharqo's death (664 BC) because he did not recognize Tanwetamani's reign (which was thus considered to run concurrently with his[162]).

Kitchen[163] and Lloyd[164] associate the Aithiopian conquest related in 2.137 with "Pir'u king of Musri", i.e., "Pharaoh king of Egypt" mentioned in Assyrian

154 Lloyd 2007 339.

155 Cf. K. von Fritz: *Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung* I. *Von den Anfängen bis Thukydides*. Berlin 1967 174; Lloyd 1988a 92; 2007 339.

156 Lloyd 1988a 91.

157 Manetho, Ἀιγυπτιακά. Loeb edn. W.G. Waddell: *Manetho*. London 1948.

158 von Beckerath 1997 91.

159 Cf. Lloyd 1988b 39. See also A. Leahy: Abydos in the Libyan Period. in: Leahy (ed.) 1990 155–200.

160 Cf. Lloyd 1988a 119 ff.

161 Manetho's list contains nine Twenty-Sixth Dynasty kings, from these only six are actual kings of the dynasty. They are also mentioned by Herodotus (here in parentheses): Psammetychos (Psammetichus = Psamtek I), Nechao (Necos = Nekau II), Psammuthis (Psammis = Psamtek II), Uaphres (Apries = Apries/Haaribra), Amosis (Amasis = Ahmose II), Psammecherites (Psammenitos = Psamtek III). Cf. von Beckerath 1997 85.

162 Cf. Kitchen 1996 § 138; *FHN* I No. (28).

163 Kitchen 1996 §§ 115, 340 f.

164 Lloyd 2007 339.

sources,[165] which they identify with Shabaqo. Students of the period also argue that parts of Middle and Lower Egypt that were controlled by Piankhy from his Year 21 onwards had been lost after Piankhy withdrew to Nubia. Indeed, Memphis came under the control of the local rulers of Sais, Tefnakht, and his successor Bakenranef/Bocchoris. It is assumed[166] that, in the course of a "re-conquest" of Lower Egypt, Shabaqo eliminated Bakenranef/Bocchoris[167] and perhaps other dissenting local rulers in his second regnal year.[168] Accordingly, Herodotus' Sabacos would have conquered Egypt in *c.* 720 BC.

To praise Sabacos' judiciousness, Herodotus (or his source) makes him follow Sesostris' juridical practice of compelling the criminal offender, instead of death penalty, "to heap up dykes in front of his home city." According to Herodotus, "in this way the level of the cities rose even higher". While presenting thus an aetiological explanation of the genesis of *tell*[169] settlements, the passage places Sabacos beside the great pharaohs of the past who were venerated as builders of dykes and diggers of canals (for Sesostris, see 2.108).[170] He is their equal also as a lawgiver.[171]

In the dream[172] that Sabacos sees at the end of his fifty-year rule in Egypt, he is advised by a man who "stood by his bed" to "assemble all the priests in Egypt and cut them in half", obviously to prolong his regency.[173] Dreams were interpreted in Egypt as a basic means by which the gods communicated with men. Oracular dreams could also be elicited in the course of a temple *incubatio*.[174] Nubian royal inscriptions written in hieroglyphic Egyptian and

165 Cf. Kitchen 1996 § 340.

166 J. Leclant: Schabaka. *LÄ* V (1983) 499–513; Kitchen 1996 § 340, etc.

167 For Bakenranef's regency, see Redford 1992 346 ff.; Kitchen 1996 §§ 337 f.—According to Manetho, Shabaqo captured and burnt him alive. Cf. A. Leahy: Death by Fire in Ancient Egypt. *JESHO* 27 (1984) 199–206.

168 For the evidence, see Kitchen 1996 §§ 342 f.; *FHN* I No. 14.

169 Arabic for settlement mound formed through centuries of human occupation.

170 Lloyd 1988a 94.

171 For the king as lawgiver, see Grimal 1986 345 ff. E.g., in the second half of the seventh century BC the Kushite king Atlanersa assumes Rameses II's Golden Horus name *Smn-hpw*, "Who-establishes-the-laws", cf. *FHN* I No. (30).

172 For the various kinds of dreams appearing in the *Histories*, see Asheri 2007a 42 f.

173 Cf. S. West: And it Came to Pass that Pharaoh Dreamed. Notes on Herodotus 2.139, 141. *CQ* 37 (1987) 262–271; Harrison 2000 103 f.

174 Cf. J. Ray: *The Archive of Hor*. London 1976 135; P. Vernus: Traum. *LÄ* VI (1985) 745–749 747; K. Zibelius-Chen: Kategorien und Rolle des Traumes in Ägypten. *SAK* 15 (1988) 277–293 290.

dating from the period between the seventh and fourth centuries BC amply attest that oracles, also including dream oracles, played a central role in the Kushite royal investiture[175] (cf. Chapters 4.7, 9, 5.1). As an initial episode of the investiture, the divine acceptance of the heir apparent could be declared by a dream or even a series of dreams. The legitimacy of Tanwetamani[176] (the last ruler of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty) and King Harsiyotef[177] (of the fourth century BC) was similarly declared by dreams that demanded expert interpretation. In the late fourth century BC King Nastasene received several legitimating dream oracles.[178]

Tanwetamani's *Dream Stela* recounts the procedure as follows:

> In regnal year 1, when he was made to appear as king (…),
> His Majesty saw a dream in the night,
> two serpents, one on his right, the other on his left.
> Up woke His Majesty but did not find them.
> His Majesty said,
> "Why has this happened to me?"
> Then reply was made to him, saying,
> "South-land [Kush] is yours already, (now) seize for yourself North-land [Egypt].
> The Two-Ladies [i.e., the crown[179]] are apparent on your head,
> and the land shall be given to you in its breadth and its length."[180]

While Sabacos' dream reflects good quality information concerning Nubian (rather than Egyptian!) oracular practice, it is highly unlikely that the counsel itself in the form as the historian rendered it would have had any Nubian or Egyptian reference. An actual analogue of the ominous advice is to be found in Book VII Chapter 39, where Herodotus relates how the godless tyrant Xerxes gave orders to cut Pythius' eldest son in half[181] "and put the two halves one

175 For the evidence, see Török 1997a 217 ff.

176 Tanwetamani's *Dream Stela*, Cairo JE 48863, lines 3–6, *FHN* I No. 29.

177 Harsiyotef Annals, Cairo JE 48864, Grimal 1981b Pls X–XXV, *FHN* II No. 78, lines 4–10.

178 Stela of Nastasene from Year 8, Berlin 2268, *FHN* II No. 84. See also the comments on the text, *FHN* II 497 f.

179 For the Kushite royal headdress, see Russmann 1974; Török 1987; Leahy 1992.

180 *FHN* I 196 f. No. 29, lines 3–5, trans. R.H. Pierce. Cf. Breyer 2003.

181 The passage is sometimes referred to in the literature in association with 3.35, where Cambyses shoots in the heart of the son of his favourite, Prexaspes, and orders "his body to be cut open and the wound examined; and when the arrow was found to have pierced the

on each side of the road, for the army to march out between them".[182] Though for the ritual significance of cutting a man or an animal in half Hofmann and Vorbichler[183] present geographically as well as chronologically varied evidence that ranges from Greek mythology to modern beliefs, there may be no doubt that in 2.139 as well as in 7.39 Herodotus actually means a *Persian* purification (*lustratio*) ritual.[184] Consequently, Sabacos' refusal to follow the counsel conveys an *anti-Persian* moral judgment.[185]

We have to return for a moment to Sabacos' identity and the dating of his arrival in Egypt. Dan'el Kahn suggests in his above-quoted study[186] that the historical interpretation of 2.137 + 139 hinges on the statement according to which the Aithiopian conqueror left Egypt *of his own accord*. Kahn argues that the only Nubian ruler of Egypt meeting this criterion is Piankhy, who withdrew to his southern capital after his great Egyptian campaign. In contrast to him, Shabaqo and Shebitqo ruled until their death from the Egyptian capital, Memphis. In turn, Taharqo fled the Assyrians twice and was unable to return to Egypt after his second flight. His successor Tanwetamani was expelled twice by the Assyrians and died in Nubia years after his second flight. Suggesting that 2.137–140 "preserves *one* historical consecutive narrative with known historical figures and not a symbolic composition of all or some Delta dynasts (…) versus all or some Kushite rulers",[187] Kahn concludes that the narrative's chief protagonists are Piankhy and his adversary, the Lower Egyptian local ruler Tefnakht (cf. Chapter 1.3). Kahn quotes lines 129–130 of Piankhy's *Great Triumphal Stela* (ibid.) where it is related that taking flight from Piankhy Tefnakht hid "in the

heart, he was delighted, and said with a laugh to the boy's father: 'There's proof for you, Prexaspes, that I am sane and the Persians mad. Now tell me if you ever saw anyone else shoot so straight'". Trans. de Sélincourt–Marincola 2003 185. This is an act of madness, however, which has nothing to do with the motif of *lustratio*.

182 Trans. de Sélincourt–Marincola 2003 431. For the Pythius story, see Baragwanath 2008 269 ff. Curiously, Baragwanath does not consider the possibility that the act of cutting the body of Pythius' son in half and the army marching out between the two halves of the body may have any other significance than narratological.

183 Hofmann–Vorbichler 1979 81 ff.

184 Cf. J.A.S. Evans: The Story of Pythios. *LCM* 13 (1988) 139; A. Keaveney: Persian Behaviour and Misbehaviour: Some Herodotean Examples. *Athenaeum* 74 (1996) 23–48; Harrison 2002 576. For ancient Near Eastern *lustratio* rituals, see also O. Masson: A propos d'un rituel hittite pour la lustration d'une armée. *RHR* 137 (1950) 5–25.

185 For human sacrifice in Herodotus, cf. How–Wells 1912 *ad* 3.11; Baragwanath 2008 111 f.

186 Kahn 2003.

187 Kahn 2003 54.

islands of the sea" (*ỉww wꜣḏ wr*) where *wꜣḏ wr* would refer to some western Delta marshes[188] and not the Mediterranean.[189]

For Sabacos' identification with Piankhy would thus speak the obvious resemblance of Anysis' career to Tefnakht's fate. The possibility, however, that the story combines episodes from and aspects of the reigns of several Twenty-Fifth Dynasty rulers, including Piankhy, cannot be easily discarded. A good argument for the identification of Herodotus' Sabacos with the entire dynasty may be found in 2.152 (here Chapter 2, Text 3) where it is reported that Sabacos killed Psammetichus' father, Necos. The death of the original Necos, i.e., Nekau I, father of Psamtek I, Assyrian vassal ruling in Sais and Memphis between 672–664 BC,[190] occurred in the course of *Tanwetamani*'s Lower Egyptian campaign in the year 664 BC (see Chapter 1.3 above), that is, more than forty years after Shabaqo's death.

Herodotus' information about Sabacos' personality and reign derives from a combination of the traditional Egyptian image of ideal regency with the image of the ideal Kushite ruler as it took shape in the period of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty rather than from annalistic data concerning Shabaqo's reign. Likewise, the *motif* (and not the *contents*) of Sabacos' dream derives from priestly information that reflects Nubian rather than kindred Egyptian oracular traditions. The association of the dream oracle with the legitimation of Sabacos' royal office speaks for the knowledge of specific information about the role that oracles played in the investiture of the *Kushite* ruler (see also Chapters 4.7, 9, 5.1).

Let us return for a moment to Herodotus' Psammetichus, the historical Psamtek I. In 2.152 the circumstances under which his second exile ended are rendered in an apologetic manner. In reality, Psamtek I was put on his throne by the Assyrians as a vassal ruler.[191] The combination of the history of the Egyptian reign of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty with the history of the Saite dynasty

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188 Kahn 2003 57 refers to E. Feucht: Fisch und Vogelfang im *wꜣḏ-wr* des Jenseits. in: Shirun-Grumach (ed.) 1997 37–44 38.—Lloyd 1988a 99 suggests that the island of Anysis "which he had built up of earth and ashes" (trans. de Sélincourt–Marincola 2003 152) derives from a myth of the death and resurrection of the "king-demiurge", a myth that "had long since faded into a folk-tale". According to Kahn 2003 58 the name Elbo consists of the Egyptian words *ỉw*, "island", and *lbw/rbw*, Libyan.

189 *wꜣḏ wr,* "Great Green", "sea", may equally refer to the Mediterranean, the Red Sea, or the Lake Moeris, cf. R. Hannig–P. Vomberg: *Wortschatz der Pharaonen in Sachgruppen*. Mainz 1999 292.

190 Kitchen 1996 §§ 117, 138, 256.

191 Cf. Kitchen 1996 §§ 360 ff.

in the same narrative indicates that the pro-Twenty-Fifth Dynasty discourse on which Texts 1–3 were partly based was re-edited under the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty. The re-edition has a surprising feature. Namely, the idealizing picture of the Saite dynasty was not contrasted in it with the denigration of the Nubian monarchs, as it might be expected after the *damnatio memoriae* of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, i.e., the systematic erasure of the political memory of the Kushite rulers of Egypt that was carried out as a political program under the Saites and especially in the reign of Psamtek II (see Chapter 1.3). Psamtek I occurs in a Nubian context also in 2.30 (here Chapter 2, Text 6, cf. Chapter 4.7). We shall return in Chapter 5.1 to the issue of the positive features in the Egyptian memory of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty.

5 Psamtek II in Nubia

In Chapters 2.147–182 Herodotus presents an account of the Saite Twenty-Sixth Dynasty (*c.* 664–525 BC). As an introduction he remarks about his sources that

> [s]o far the Egyptians themselves have been my authority, but in what follows I shall relate what other people, too, are willing to accept in the history of this country, with a few points added from my own observation (ὄψις).[192]

Chapters 2.160–161 relate two episodes from the reign of Psammis, i.e., Psamtek II (595–589 BC). In the first, longer, episode (2.160) an Elean delegation receives advice from the Egyptians on how to organize fairly the Olympic games.[193] In the brief single-sentence second episode (2.161, here Chapter 2, Text 4) Psamtek II sends a military expedition to Nubia. Unlike the first, the second episode contains authentic information[194] about the campaign that resulted in the Saite occupation of Lower Nubia (cf. Chapter 1.3).

Immediately after the fall of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, the relations between Egypt and Kush were structured in the interest of the international trade that

192 2.147, trans. de Sélincourt–Marincola 2003 155.

193 Cf. Lloyd 2007 360. The moralizing episode has nothing to do with Psamtek II. In Alan Griffiths' view, Herodotus knew nothing about his Psammis, and used the tale to lend him some identity, having perhaps the Sicilian Psaumis in mind, who was celebrated in Pindar's *Olympian Odes*. See Griffiths 2006 133.

194 Though Psamtek II reigned in fact not "for only six years" but for five full years and started his sixth regnal year, this is not a serious fault. Cf. von Beckerath 1997 86 ff.; Lloyd 2007 360 f.

was greatly encouraged by Psamtek I[195] and his successor, Nekau II (610–595 BC). The latter sent a riverine expedition from Elephantine against the nomadic Trog[l]odytes, inhabitants of the desert between the Lower Nubian Nile and the Red Sea, which indicates efforts aimed at the control of the commercial road along the Middle Nile (cf. Chapter 4.11).[196] We have no information about the actual items of the Nubian export to Egypt. It may be hypothesized that besides Nubian gold it included exotic wares from the interior of Africa. The high quality of the imports and/or diplomatic gifts arriving from Egypt in the Kingdom of Kush can be assessed on the basis of metal,[197] calcite,[198] and faience[199] vessels and faience amulets[200] recovered from royal and elite tombs at Nuri and Begarawiya West and Begarawiya South at the city of Meroe.

During the revolt of Inaros between *c.* 463/2 and 449 BC,[201] i.e., more or less in Herodotus' own time,[202] Lower Nubia returned under Kushite supremacy from the Egyptian rule that had been established there by Psamtek II and maintained by Cambyses, Darius I and Xerxes. Herodotus, however, although he visited Egypt shortly after Inaros' rebellion (cf. Chapters 1.3, 4.2), was not aware of the change in the status of Lower Nubia. His remark that Psammis died soon after the expedition is similarly erroneous. Lloyd[203] makes the important observation that a similar error occurs in the Demotic Papyrus Rylands IX dating from 513 BC, where it is said that Psamtek II died immediately after his 592 BC Asiatic campaign.[204] Consequently, Herodotus' dating of Psammis' death seems to derive from an Egyptian, not a Greek source.

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195 Cf. Diodorus 1.66.8, 67.9; Lloyd 1983 282 ff., 329.

196 C. Müller: Drei Stelenfragmente. in: W. Kaiser et al.: Stadt und Tempel von Elephantine. Fünfter Grabungsbericht. *MDAIK* 31 (1975) 80–84 83 f.; F. Junge: *Elephantine* XI. *Funde und Bauteile*. Mainz 1987 66 f.; K. Jansen-Winkeln: Zur Schiffsliste aus Elephantine. *GM* 109 (1989) 31.

197 E.g., Dunham 1963 figs 18/e (Beg. W. 832); Dunham 1955 fig. 55, Wenig 1978 Cat. 111 (gold vase inscribed for Aspelta's funerary equipment, from Nu. 8).

198 Griffith 1923 Pl. XVI; Dunham 1963 fig. Q.

199 E.g., Griffith 1923 Pls XXXI–XXXII.

200 See especially the *pataikos* types associated with the cult of Horus-the-Saviour and the Memphite cult of Ptah-Sokaris, Griffith 1923 Pl. XXVI/33; Dunham 1955, 1963 *passim* and cf. C. Andrews: *Amulets of Ancient Egypt*. London 1994 38 f.

201 Török 2009 364 ff.

202 According to Cobet 2002 398 f. with "up to my own time" Herodotus refers to the personal memory of his own generation, i.e., the period *c.* between 450 and the early 420s.

203 Lloyd 1988a 168 f.

204 14–17, Griffith 1909 III 92 ff.

6 Aithiopians in the Siwa Oasis

Into his account of the customs of the Egyptians (2.35–98) Herodotus inserts a digression (2.42, here Chapter 2, Text 5) about the relations between the Egyptians, the Aithiopians, and the Ammonians. The latter are the inhabitants of the Siwa Oasis. Chapter 2, Text 5 presents the more informative section of the digression. The less informative part of the digression will also be briefly touched upon in the following.

According to Herodotus, the Ammonians are colonists of Egyptians *and* Aithiopians and their language “lies between those of the two peoples”. Herodotus associates the oracle of Ammon of Siwa with both this mixed population and the Theban Amun oracle. In 2.42 the historian relates that the Thebans hold rams sacred and do not sacrifice them. Nevertheless, once a year at the festival of Zeus, i.e., Amun, they cut a single ram into pieces, flay it, put its fleece on the image of the god and then bring an image of Heracles (i.e., probably Khonsu, son of Amun-Re[205]) near to it. They conclude the festival burying the remnants of the sacrificed ram in a sacred coffer (ἐν ἱρῇ θήκῃ; de Sélincourt and Marincola translate “bury the carcase in a sacred sepulchre”[206]). In Lloyd’s view,[207] besides recording an existing ritual performed at the Theban Opet festival,[208] Herodotus presents here an aetiological explanation for the ritual of sacrificing a ram and putting its fleece on the god’s cult statue in order to endow it with the power of the sacred animal. The historian adds, “This is the reason why the Egyptians make Zeus’ image with a ram’s head”. He also repeats in 4.181 that the temple of the Ammonians “derived from that of the Theban Zeus (…) [wherefore] the image of Zeus in both temples has a ram’s face”.[209]

Until the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty, Siwa was under the rule of an independent Libyan tribal chief, but Egyptian priests imported the cult of Amun of Thebes to the oasis probably as early as the New Kingdom. The famous Ammoneion of Aghurmi, i.e., the temple of Zeus Ammon of Siwa, was built by King Ahmose II (Amasis) (570–526 BC) of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty. Architectural features of

205 J.G. Griffiths: The Orders of Gods in Greece and Egypt (According to Herodotus). *JHS* 75 (1955) 21–23.

206 Trans. de Sélincourt–Marincola 2003 113.

207 Lloyd 1976 192 ff.; 2007 268.

208 For a reconstruction of the Opet festival as celebrated from the time of Rameses II onwards, see L. Bell: The New Kingdom “Divine” Temple: The Example of Luxor. in: Shafer (ed.) 1997 127–184, 281–302 162 ff.

209 Trans. de Sélincourt–Marincola 2003 303.

the temple indicate that Greek masons participated in its construction.[210] Herodotus repeatedly mentions the oracle of Zeus Ammon of Aghurmi (1.46, 2.18, 2.32, 2.55). Features of Zeus Ammon of Cyrene may be identified in the god's figure as well as in his cult. It is in accordance with modern Egyptology's knowledge of Amun's ram aspect that Herodotus stresses the Theban connections of a ram-headed Zeus Ammon. It is irrelevant here that no ram-headed representation of the Ammon of Aghurmi is known, since a ram-headed Amun was actually worshiped some hundred meters from Aghurmi in the temple of Umm Ubaydah, which was linked with Aghurmi by a processional avenue.[211]

The Egyptian Amun is frequently represented with human body and ram's head. The Nubian Amun gods[212] also appear with human body and ram's head or in the form of a ram or a criosphinx. The local Amun cults of Kush derived partly from pre-Twenty-Fifth Dynasty or even native pre-New Kingdom ram cults.[213] The question must remain open, however, whether Herodotus' informant associated the Ammon of Siwa with Aithiopian colonists because he actually knew about the Nubian ram gods.

Lloyd lists factors apparently in favour of the (partially) Nubian origin of the Siwa cult[214] and also joins Leclant and Yoyotte in their assumption that Nubian immigrants played a role in its import.[215] An actual Nubian presence in the Oasis remains to be proved, however.

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210 Cf. *PM* VII 313; Kuhlmann 1988; Arnold 1999 90; K.-P. Kuhlmann: Siwa Oasis, Late Period and Graeco-Roman Sites. in: Bard (ed.) 1999 738–744; S. Schmidt: Ammon. in: Beck–Bol–Bückling (eds) 2005 187–194; K.-C. Bruhn: *"Kein Tempel der Pracht". Architektur und Geschichte des Tempels aus der Zeit Amasis auf Agurmi, Oase Siwa*. Wiesbaden 2010.

211 Kuhlmann 1988 123 ff.

212 For the presumed origins of the ram form of the Egyptian Amun in native Nubian ram cults of the C-Group and Kerma cultures, see G. Maspero: *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'orient classique* II. Paris 1899 169; D. Wildung: Der widdergestaltige Amun–Ikonographie eines Götterbildes. Unpubl. paper submitted at the International Congress of Orientalists, Paris 1973; cf. id.: *Sesostris und Amenemhet. Ägypten im Mittleren Reich*. München 1984 182; P. Behrens: Widder. *LÄ* VI (1986) 1243–1245; C. Bonnet: *Kerma. Territoire et métropole*. Paris 1986 45 f.; C. Bonnet (ed.): *Kerma, royaume de Nubie*. Genève 1990 90 f.; Pamminger 1992. See also E. Kormysheva: On the Origin and Evolution of the Amun Cult in Nubia. in: Kendall (ed.) 2004 109–133.

213 Though the term "Nubian ram gods" is used with great confidence in the literature, in fact, we know next to nothing about them. It remains unknown whether the pre-New Kingdom ram gods presumably worshiped at Kawa and Napata were independent of each other or were rather local forms of a more "universal" deity. Cf. Hornung 1971 219 ff.

214 Lloyd 1976 196.

215 Leclant–Yoyotte 1952 28 note 6; Lloyd 2007 268. I cannot share Lloyd's view that "the ethnic mix would inevitably create a heterogeneous linguistic environment" (ibid.).

7 Herodotus' Two Aithiopias 1: Aithiopia South of Egypt. With Notes on Oracles

In 2.29–31 (here Chapter 2, Text 6) Herodotus describes the geography of Nubia first from Elephantine above the First Cataract to the city of Meroe, then from Meroe to the region where the Egyptian Deserters (αὐτομόλοι) were settled. At the same time, the passage is part of the account of the Upper Nile and the sources of the river (2.28–34). The geographical section is followed by a discourse on the customs and traditions of the inhabitants of Meroe and the story of the Deserters' settlement in Aithiopia.

The description of the First Cataract region contains errors that indicate a source of general nature such as a traveller's itinerary excerpted and/or commented on in a superficial manner at some point of Herodotus' stay in Egypt. He introduces the description noting that as far as Elephantine he speaks as an eyewitness, "but further south from hearsay (ἀκοή)", that is, he reports what oral informants told him. But the historian does not pretend that he could present collective *akoē* statements received from *locals* "who are the most competent informants about themselves and their own land",[216] since he did not go to Nubia and did not meet Nubian informants, either (see Chapters 1.2, 4.1).

The historian describes correctly the difficulties of sailing through the First Cataract. The distance of twelve miles between Elephantine and Takompso, i.e., the Nile valley stretch that would appear in later sources as Δωδεκάσχοινος, "The Land of Twelve Miles",[217] is similarly correct.[218] Yet Herodotus confuses Takompso (the *Tj-km-sꜣ, Tꜣ-q-mꜣ-p-s* of Egyptian texts[219]) at the *southern* end of the Dodekaschoinos with Philae at its *northern* end. Together with other settlements of the Cataract region, it was Philae, not Takompso, that was said in antiquity to be inhabited by a mixed Egyptian-Aithiopian population.[220]

The "great lake" is not real.[221] The Aithiopian nomads said to live around it are probably identical with the Blemmyans/Bedja living between the Nile and the Red Sea.[222] According to the third-century-BC author Eratosthenes,

216 Luraghi 2006 83 f.

217 For the geographical position of the Dodekaschoinos, cf. Locher 1999 230 ff.

218 As opposed to my overcriticism in *FHN* I 310.

219 Locher 1999 259 ff.

220 Cf. Strabo 1.2.32, 17.1.49, *FHN* III No. 188.

221 Lloyd 2007 259 f.: "exaggerated".

222 For a mention of Blemmyans in 513 BC, see the Demotic Papyrus Rylands IX, 5/2–5, Griffith

> along the Nile and towards the Red Sea [live] the Megabaroi and the Blemmyes, who are subject to the Aithiopians but are neighbours of the Egyptians[.][223]

The Blemmyans were indeed "visible" both from Lower Nubia and Upper Egypt. They were viewed with little sympathy and understanding.[224]

Lloyd argues that Herodotus' itinerary consisting of four days' boat voyage from Elephantine to Takompso, plus a journey of forty days by land along the Nile, plus another twelve days' boat journey to the city of Meroe is realistic.[225] It is to be noted, however, that it is not identical with the traditional short itinerary consisting of a boat voyage to Korosko whence the journey continued along the desert road to a point at modern Abu Hamed, a site situated between the Fourth and Fifth Cataracts. From there, the city of Meroe could be reached by boat in the period of high Nile.

In Chapter 29 of Book II Herodotus presents a brief description of the "great city with the name of Meroe". This is the earliest mention of the city of Meroe in a classical source. The earliest occurrence of *Bꜣ-r-wꜣ*, Meroe, in a Kushite text written in hieroglyphic Egyptian is in one of the inscriptions of King Irike-Amannote dating from the late fifth century BC.[226] By Herodotus' time, however, Meroe had functioned as a royal residence already for several

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1909 I–II Pl. XXVII, III 225; *FHN* I No. 50. For the history of the Blemmyans, see Updegraff 1978; 1988; L. Török: *A Contribution to Post-Meroitic Chronology: The Blemmyes in Lower Nubia.* (*Meroitic Newsletter* 24). Paris 1985; id.: Additional Remarks to Updegraff 1988. in: *ANRW* II.10.1 (1988) 97–106.

223 Eratosthenes in Strabo 17.1.2, *FHN* II No. 109, trans. T. Hägg.

224 The glimpse presented of them in a passage of the Papyrus Dodgson (second century BC, C.J. Martin: The Child Born in Elephantine: Papyrus Dodgson Revisited. *Acta Demotica. Acts of the Fifth International Conference for Demotists 1993. EVO* 17 [1994] 199–212) is far from characteristic of the interethnical contacts in the region. The passage records a trial against persons disturbing the peace on the island of Philae. A certain Petra son of Pshenpoêr was found guilty by an oracle for having desecrated offering wine dedicated to Osiris in a drinking party, in which Blemmyans had also participated. The case indicates a rather intimate relationship between Blemmyans and Egyptians, who could get access to Osiris' wine. It would be mistaken, however, to extend the amicable closeness prevailing in the anecdotical episode to the whole of the coexistence of Egyptians, Aithiopians and Blemmyes (cf. E. Bresciani: Il papiro Dodgson e il *hp* (*n*) *wpj.t. EVO* 11 [1988] 55–70; Updegraff 1988 60).

225 Lloyd 2007 260.

226 Kawa, Temple T, *Inscription of Irike-Amanote from Years 1–2* col. 5, *FHN* II No. 71; Török 2009 367 ff.

centuries (cf. Chapter 1.1). Its history goes back to pre-Twenty-Fifth Dynasty times.[227] There are calibrated carbon dates between 900–750 BC from mudbrick buildings discovered recently under the Meroitic-period palace M 750.[228]

The historian relates next that "the people there [i.e., in the city of Meroe] worship Zeus (= Amun) and Dionysus (= Osiris) alone of the gods" and that "they also have an oracle of Zeus". He also adds, the Aithiopians "go to war whenever this god (Zeus) bids them through oracles, and wherever he bids them". The exclusive reference to the worship of Zeus (= Amun) and Dionysus (= Osiris), who are the "most obvious" gods of post-New Kingdom Egypt, is characteristic for the scantiness of the "realistic" information Herodotus could obtain about the city of Meroe. Students of Herodotus make nevertheless attempts to interpret it as a sophisticated allusion to the hierarchy of the gods in Nubian religion, maintaining, "Amun (Zeus) was the major god in Nubia from the New Kingdom".[229] Indeed, an Amun temple was standing in the centre of the town already by the reign of Taharqo.[230] So far, there is no textual or archaeological evidence for an Osiris temple. But a fair number of shrines of other deities have been excavated at the city of Meroe.[231]

Sabacos' reaction to his oracular dream in 2.137 + 139 (here Chapter 2, Text 2, cf. Chapter 4.4) presents a paradigm of the pharaoh's traditional attitude towards oracles, reproducing thus an important feature of the god-fearing ideal ruler's portrait. In difficult periods of Egyptian history, portraits of this type would occur again and again. Suffice it to mention here the pharaoh of the Demotic Inaros (Petubastis) cycle[232] who is characterized as "a lover of peace

227 For the publication of John Garstang's 1909–1914 excavations at Meroe City, see Török 1997b. See also K.A. Grzymski: *Meroe Reports* I. *The Meroe Expedition.* (*SSEA Publications* XVII). Mississauga 2003. For a discussion of more recent fieldwork at the site, see M. Baud: Les trois Méroé: la ville, la région, l'empire. in: Baud–Sackho-Autissier–Labbé-Toutée (eds) 2010 52–66; Török 2011a 113–188.

228 See K. Grzymski: La fondation de Méroé-Ville: nouvelles données. in: Baud–Sackho-Autissier–Labbé-Toutée 2010 65–66. Cf. Török 1997b 1, 104.

229 Lloyd 2007 260, referring to Shinnie 1967 141.

230 Török 1997b 25 ff., 116 ff.

231 Török 1997b *passim*, P.L. Shinnie–J.R. Anderson (eds): *The Capital of Kush* 2. *Meroe Excavations 1973–1984* (*Meroitica* 20). Wiesbaden 2004; P. Wolf: Temples in the Meroitic South—Some Aspects of Typology, Cult and Function. in: Caneva–Roccati (eds) 2006 239–262, etc.

232 Cf. W. Helck: Petubastis-Erzählung. *LÄ* IV (1982) 998–999; F. Hoffmann: *Der Kampf um den Panzer des Inaros: Studien zum Papyrus Krall und seiner Stellung innerhalb des Inaros-Petubastis-Zyklus*. Wien 1996.

whose actions are governed by the oracle of Amun".[233] Oracles play a significant role throughout the *Histories*,[234] so also in the Egyptian *logos*.[235] Herodotus' reference to the Amun oracle in Meroe, however, is not a simple repetition or variant of what he says elsewhere about Egyptian or other oracles.[236] While there is no realistic information behind the reduction of Meroe's sacred landscape to the cults of Zeus and Dionysus, the remark about the oracle of Zeus is more substantial. A superficial comparison of Egyptian Third Intermediate and Late Period oracular traditions and practices with Kushite oracular traditions and practices of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and Napatan periods would hardly discover any significant difference. A more careful analysis of the inscriptions of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and Napatan-period kings results, however, in a more complex picture of the special role that oracles of the Amun gods (also including the Amun worshiped at the city of Meroe) were playing in the legitimation and investiture of the king of Kush as well as in royal decisions and jurisdiction.[237]

Three types of oracles are recorded in Kushite royal documents, viz., 1) dream oracle, 2) oracular election of the king and proclamation of his legitimacy by the god's processional cult image, 3) *Königsorakel* received by the king in the intimacy of the god's inner sanctuary.[238] Two inscriptions erected by Taharqo in the Amun temple at Kawa in the 680s BC[239] present a dynastic legend relating that the power of Taharqo's ancestor Alara, the first Kushite ruler known by name, was based on a covenant between Alara and Amun.[240] The narrative context in which the covenant appears suggests that it was also the ultimate source of the legitimacy and power of Taharqo and his dynasty. Amun's epithets occurring in the two Kawa inscriptions indicate the legend's conceptual setting

233 Murray 1970 156.

234 Cf. Asheri 2007a 41 f.

235 Kirchberg 1964; Asheri 1993; Harrison 2000 122–157; Saïd 2002; Griffin 2006.

236 Cf. H. Klees: *Die Eigenart des griechischen Glaubens an Orakel und Seher. Ein Vergleich zwischen griechischer und nichtgriechischer Mantik bei Herodot*. Stuttgart 1965.

237 Cf. Kákosy 1982; Römer 1994 135–283; Török 1997a 241 ff.

238 In more detail, see Török 1997a 241 ff.

239 Khartoum 2678, *FHN* I No. 21, lines 20 ff.; Khartoum 2679, *FHN* I No. 24, lines 22 ff. For the reading of Alara's title in the text, cf. J.J. Clère: review of Macadam 1949. *BiOr* 5 (1951) 179; A.K. Vinogradov: "[…] Their Brother, the Chieftain, the Son of Reʿ, Alara […]"? *CRIPEL* 20 81–94 1999 91; id.: *Epitet, imya, titul v pismennuh pamyatnikah Kusha*. Moscow 2006 16 ff.; Török 2009 317 f.

240 For the concept of covenant in the "theologization of history", see Assmann 1989; 1990b 18 ff.

in the Third Intermediate Period Theology of Will[241] and, more closely, in Theban concepts associated with the legitimating power of the God's Wife of Amun.[242] The inscriptions refer to Alara's coming to power with the word *bỉꜣt*, "wonder". In contemporary texts *bỉꜣt* is frequently used to refer to an oracular decision proclaimed by a god during the course of the barque procession of his cult image. Through the oracle, the god "elects" a king and bestows royal power upon him.[243] In the second half of the fifth century BC King Irike-Amannote,[244] in the last third of the fourth century BC King Nastasene,[245] would recall Alara's memory in the same sense.

In the late seventh century BC, Aspelta as crown prince entered the precincts of the temple of Amun of Napata at Napata in the company of the "king's brothers", i.e., the sons of his predecessor(s). The barque of the god emerged from the sanctuary whereupon the priests

> placed the king's brothers before this god, (but) he did not take one of them. Placing a second time the king's brother, the son of Amun, the child of Mut, Lady of Heaven, the Son of Re: Aspelta, may he live for ever. Then this god, Amun-Re, Lord of the Thrones of Two-lands, said: "It is he that is the king, your lord".[246]

The oracular "election" of Aspelta recalls the scene in which Amun of Karnak is selecting out the future Thutmose III from the midst of his entourage.[247] After the public proclamation of his legitimacy, Aspelta is conducted into the inner sanctuary where the god receives him without attendants. The earliest occurrence of such a *Königsorakel* rite is in Piankhy's *Great Triumphal Stela* (cf. Chapters 1.3, 4.4) in the account of the king's mystic encounter with Re of Heliopolis. It represents the culmination of his accession to the throne of Egypt.[248]

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241 Cf. Assmann 1989 72 ff.

242 *FHN* I 144 f., 175 f.

243 E. Graefe: *Untersuchungen zur Wortfamilie bỉꜣ.* Köln 1971 137 ff.; and Römer 1994 142 ff.; on Alara's legitimation: 148 f.

244 *FHN* II No. 71, line 54.

245 *FHN* II No. 84, line 16.

246 *Election Stela* of Aspelta, Cairo JE 48866, Grimal 1981b Pls V–VII; *FHN* I No. 37, lines 18 f., trans. R.H. Pierce.

247 *Urk.* IV.3 158; Roeder 1960 202 f.—For the oracular legitimation of the king by his divine father Amun in the New Kingdom, cf. Kuhlmann 1988 158 f.

248 *FHN* I No. 9, lines 103 ff. Cf. J.-C. Goyon: *La confirmation du pouvoir royal au Nouvel An* (*Brooklyn Museum Papyrus 47.218.50*). Le Caire 1972 268 f.

Returning to Aspelta’s investiture, in the rite following his *Königsorakel* Amun of Napata grants him universal regency. This rite is followed by a verbal utterance of the god that was apparently put down in the form of an oracular decree.[249]

The rites of the oracular legitimation of the kings of Kush and their mystic encounter with the god were repeated in the Amun temples of Kawa and Kerma (Pnubs), the next stations of his coronation journey (cf. Chapter 1.1).[250] Oracles as means of the direct communication between the god and the ruler also occur in other contexts. In the first half of the fourth century BC, two oracular messages sent by Amun commanded King Harsiyotef to carry out restoration work in the precincts of the great Amun temple at Napata.[251] Confirming Herodotus’ account recording that the Aithiopians “go to war whenever this god (Zeus) bids them through oracles, and wherever he bids them”, Harsiyotef also declares:

> Thirty-fifth regnal year, first month of Winter, 5th day (…) I sent to him, Amun of Napata, my good father, saying: “Shall I send my army against the desert land Mekhty?” He sent to me, Amun of Napata, saying, “Let it be sent!”[252]

It is to be added that, in proportion to their actual power, the kings tried to exert strict control over the Amun oracles, as it is demonstrated by the account of the terrible punishment for a priestly plot that was directed under Aspelta’s reign at the manipulation of the oracle of Amun.[253]

Returning to the geographical description of Aithiopia, the reader of the *Histories* misses here information about the regions lying beyond the city of Meroe. The actual geographical account consists eventually of one single sen-

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249 *FHN* I No. 37, line 27.

250 For the evidence, see Török 1997a 225 ff.

251 *FHN* II No. 78, lines 119–130. For the interpretation of the passage, see my comments, *FHN* II 463.

252 *FHN* II No. 78, lines 110–114, trans. R.H. Pierce.

253 *Banishment Stela* of Aspelta, Cairo JE 48865, Grimal 1981b Pls VIII–IX *FHN* I No. 38.—For the relationship between the ruler, his family, and the Amun temples, cf. King Anlamani’s *Enthronement Stela*, Copenhagen Æ.I.N. 1709, *FHN* I No. 34; the *Adoption* (or *Dedication*) *Stela* of Aspelta, Louvre C 257, *FHN* I No. 39, Valbelle 2012 9 ff.; and see the Aspelta stela fragments discovered in 1999 and 2007 at Dokki Gel (Kerma): Valbelle 2012 21 ff. For a recent discussion of the text of Louvre C 257, see A.K. Vinogradov: The Golden Cage: What is the “Dedication Stele” Dedicated To? *MittSAG* 23 (2012) 105–116.

tence: "from this city [Meroe] you will arrive at the Deserters as long as it took to get from Elephantine to the capital of the Aithiopians".[254] This sentence is followed by a long digression (Chapter 30 of Book II) presenting an account of the settlement in Aithiopia of the Egyptian "Deserters," also called Automoloi (αὐτομόλοι) or Asmach (ἀσμάχ). According to Herodotus, they were the descendants of the 240,000 men who deserted from the garrison of Elephantine under Psammetichus (the historical Psamtek I) and were settled at a distance of 56 travel days from the city of Meroe in the southern part of Aithiopia. While the number 240,000 seems to be in the style of Herodotus' invented quantities,[255] the mention of garrisons and military posts established in Egypt by Psamtek I and still existing in Herodotus' own time, namely, "in the city of Elephantine on the Aithiopian frontier, and in Pelousian Daphnai (…) on the Arab and the Assyrian frontier, and in Marea on the Libyan frontier", is realistic.[256] Henri de Meulenaere suggests that the king in the story is identical with Tanwetamani rather than Psamtek I, and the episode is a paraphrase of the withdrawal of Tanwetamani's forces from Upper Egypt after his final defeat by the Assyrians[257] in 663 BC.[258] Lloyd[259] interprets the story as the account of a historical mutiny of the *machimoi*,[260] the Egyptian warrior class of Libyan origin (cf. 2.141, 164–168).[261] According to Meulenaere[262] and Lloyd,[263] the name "Asmach" derives from Egyptian *smḥy*, "left". Such a derivation is supported by the word's military connotation as explained by Herodotus: Asmach "translated into the Greek language means 'they who stand at the king's left hand' ".[264]

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254 *FHN* I No. 56, trans. T. Eide.

255 Fehling 1989 232.

256 According to Lloyd 2007 261, Marea was not garrisoned in Herodotus' time because the Cyrenaica was under Persian control. But so also was Elephantine.

257 Cf. Kitchen 1996 § 355.

258 Meulenaere 1951 43.

259 Lloyd 1988a 116 f.; Lloyd 2000 373.

260 Greek name of the *Meshwesh* or *Ma*, Libyans settled in Egypt during the New Kingdom. For the *machimoi*, see Kienitz 1953 36 f.; Lloyd 1983 309 f.; Taylor 2000 349 f.

261 The Deserters would appear in later classical literature under the names *Automoles* (Mela, 3.85), *Sembritae* (Strabo 16.4.8, 17.1.2, Pliny, *NH* 6.191) and *Machloiones* (Hesychius s.v.). Cf. Lloyd 1976 128.

262 Meulenaere 1951 42.

263 Lloyd 2007 260.

264 Lloyd 1976 129 refers to J.G. Griffiths: Three Notes on Herodotus, Book II. *ASAE* 53 (1956) 139 ff.

In his commentary on 2.30 Lloyd makes an attempt at the placing of the Deserters in Kushite history.[265] Referring to military campaigns recorded in inscriptions of Anlamani[266] (late seventh century BC), Aspelta[267] (late seventh–early sixth century BC), Irike-Amannote[268] (late fifth–early fourth century BC), Harsiyotef[269] (first half-middle of the fourth century BC), and Nastasene[270] (last third of the fourth century BC), Lloyd makes the suggestion that "this evidence makes it quite clear that conditions beyond the First Cataract were unstable enough to satisfy Herodotus' description".[271] Actually, the aforementioned inscriptions record a variety of conflicts within and without the frontiers of the Kingdom of Kush, mainly "historical", but also including more or less fictive ones that belong to the traditional symbolic repertory of royal legitimation and triumph.[272] Recurrent conflicts, mostly at the peripheries of the kingdom, occurred between the central power and nomadic groups living within the borders of the kingdom, while others were the consequences of the continuous struggle with Egypt and/or local dissidents for the control over Lower Nubia between the First and Second Cataracts.[273] The general impression given by the evidence is not that of a kingdom existing in a constant state of instability. Quite the contrary. What the inscriptions portray is a successfully functioning central power renewed practically as well as symbolically with every new reign.

8 Herodotus' Two Aithiopias 2: The Land of the Long-Lived Aithiopians on the Fringes of the Inhabited World

Herodotus concludes in 2.31 that the Nile is known "for the distance of four months of travel by boat and on land, not counting its course in Egypt". The land

265 Lloyd 1976 131 f.

266 *Enthronement Stela* of Anlamani, Copenhagen Æ.I.N. 1709, *FHN* I No. 34. For Anlamani's reign cf. *FHN* I No. (33).

267 *Banishment Stela* of Aspelta, *FHN* I No. 38. For Aspelta's reign cf. *FHN* I No. (36).

268 Inscription in the hypostyle hall of the Amun temple at Kawa, *FHN* II No. 71. For Irike-Amannote's reign, cf. *FHN* I No. (70).

269 *Harsiyotef Annals*, Cairo JE 48864, *FHN* II No. 78. For Harsiyotef's reign, cf. *FHN* I No. (77).

270 *Nastasene Stela* from Year 8, Berlin 2268, *FHN* II No. 84. For Nastasene's reign, cf. *FHN* II No. (83).

271 Lloyd 1976 132.

272 For the Kushite army and warfare cf. Welsby 1996 39 ff.

273 For the evidence and its interpretation, see Török 2009 *passim*.

of the Deserters constitutes the most remote point about which the historian could collect information. From that point on no one knows the course of the Nile, "for there the land is a desert by reason of the intense heat". Accordingly, the Aithiopia south of Egypt ends at the fringes of the earth. There is nothing beyond it but the "true desert", which, so says Herodotus, surrounds the inhabited world.[274]

Herodotus' "other Aithiopia" displays several features of the Aithiopia of Greek literary tradition. The Aithiopians, i.e., the black people (αἴθιοψ, "face burned") of the Homeric poems are divided into two groups living near to the rising and to the setting of the sun, respectively. They are "the most distant of men" (ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν[275]). Their land is located "at the boundaries of earth".[276] Ionian geography located them more precisely in Africa and India, in the region extending from Nubia to the Atlantic coast (Hdt. 7.69–70).[277]

Homeric Greece had no eyewitness information about the regions south of the First Cataract, though it was not very long ago that Nubia ceased to be dominated by New Kingdom Egypt—and New Kingdom Egypt was by no means unknown to the Greek world.[278] The Homeric tradition of far-off Aithiopia arose from the desire to separate the inhabited world from the boundless (ἀπείρων) cosmos. According to archaic cosmology,[279] the continents of Europe, Asia, and Africa are surrounded by Ocean,[280] a "river"[281] without another bank on its farther side. In the south, Ocean washes the shores of Aithiopia.[282]

The properties of the land of Aithiopia correspond with the virtues of its inhabitants. The Aithiopia of early Greek poetry is blessed with perfect climate and paradisial prosperity. Accordingly, its inhabitants are pious, noble-minded, and blameless (ἀμύμων), whereby they deserve the visits of the gods[283] who

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274 Cf. H. Edelmann: Ἐρημίη und ἔρημος bei Herodot. *Klio* 52 (1970) 79–86; Romm 1992 35 ff.; Karttunen 2002 465.

275 *Od.* 1.23.—Cf. Bichler 2000 29 ff.

276 Homeric geography places it occasionally somewhat more realistically in the African regions south of Egypt: *Od.* 4.84.

277 Cf. Asheri 2007c 415 f.

278 Cf. D. Panagiotopoulos: Chronik einer Begegnung. Ägypten und die Ägäis in der Bronzezeit. in: Beck–Bol–Bückling (eds) 2005 34–49; W. Koenigs: Bauen in Stein. ibid. 55–64; R.S. Bianchi: Der archaische griechische Kouros und der ägyptische kanonische Bildnistypus der schreitenden männlichen Figur. ibid. 65–73.

279 Which, as to this particular aspect, is decidedly refuted by Herodotus in 2.23, 4.8 and 4.36.

280 F. Gisinger: Okeanos. *RE* XXXIV (1937) 2308–2310; Romm 1992 12 ff.

281 For the ποταμός Ὠκεανοῖο, see Romm 1992 15 f.

282 Romm 1992 9 ff.

283 *Il.* 23.205–207; *Od.* 1.22–24, 5.282, 287.—According to *Od.* 4.84 Menelaos visits the

from time to time retreat to them in order to escape from the sufferings of the quarrelling mankind and enjoy unlimited feasting.

I have argued on the previous pages of this study that Herodotus collected the information presented in the Aithiopian passages in order to enrich or support the narratives in which they are inserted, rather than to be used for the composition of a self-contained Aithiopian *logos*. Accordingly, the sense of 3.17–25 (here Chapter 2, Text 7) is didactic. Its purpose is to build up a contrast between a ruthless, mad conqueror and a morally superior peripheral people, viz., a contrast between the Persian Cambyses and Homer's noble savages, representatives of the ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν.[284] The Aithiopia described in Chapters 3.17–25 of the *Histories* is a moral and political utopia,[285] an ideal counterpart of the *oikumene*'s troubles.[286]

In Herminghausen's view Chapters 3.17–25 can be regarded as a unitary whole.[287] Marco Dorati contests this interpretation. While I agree with most of Dorati's points, I have considerations against his conclusion according to which the report of the envoys sent by Cambyses to the king of the long-lived Aithiopians would be

> completed by formally independent pieces of information, which are however tightly connected to the main narrative and hardly conceivable as fragments of autonomous knowledge. Should we substract the contribution of the supposed independent voices, the narrative could no longer stand. What is difficult to accept is therefore not the content of the various voices or of the supposed autonomous fragments, but the *manner* in which they are interconnected.[288]

Aithiopians on his return voyage from Troy. The combination of the "most distant" with the accessible receives its meaning, however, only in Herodotus' work, cf. Romm 1992 50.

284 *Od.* 1.23, see also *Il.* 13.6; Aeschylus, *frgm.* 329 M; Hdt. 4.23 (Scythians), 4.26 (Issedones).

285 H. Braunert: *Utopia, Antworten griechischen Denkens auf die Herausforderung durch soziale Verhältnisse*. Kiel 1969; J. Ferguson: *Utopias of the Classical World*. London 1975; D. Dawson: *Cities of the Gods. Communist Utopias in Greek Thought*. Oxford 1992; C. Carsana–M.T. Schettino (eds): *Utopia e utopie nel pensiero storico antico*. Roma 2008.

286 Romm 1992 49ff.—For a comprehensive treatment of the Aithiopia/Nubia tradition of antiquity, see the pioneering work by F.M. Snowden: *Blacks in Antiquity. Ethiopians in the Greco-Roman Experience*. Cambridge, Mass. 1970 and cf. Lesky 1959; H. Schwabl: Das Bild der fremden Welt bei den frühen Griechen. in: Schwabl (ed.) 1961 3–23.

287 Herminghausen 1964 71ff.

288 Dorati 2011 299.

Chapters 17–25 of Book III—the "Aithiopian *logos*" of Jacoby and other scholars (see Chapters 3.1, 2)—are part of Cambyses' biography. Their traditional interpretation is summarized thus by David Asheri:

> This famous 'Ethiopian' *logos* is a historical and ethnographical digression perfectly integrated in the main narrative. It starts from the historical events of the three main campaigns lost by Cambyses (ch. 17), and connects with the story of the sacrilegious acts performed by the mad Persian king. The *logos*, therefore, has a crucial role in the Herodotean "biography" of Cambyses. The account of the Ethiopian campaign occupies only the last chapter, ch. 25; the other chapters contain an ethnographic account, mostly fictitious or idealized for didactic purposes (…) The *logos* mixes a Greek traditional utopia with information of varying value gathered in Egypt from Greek-speaking informers tendentiously hostile to Cambyses.[289]

Hofmann and Vorbichler suggest a radically different interpretation according to which the "Aithiopian *logos*" contains a *Mysteriengeschehen* of Iranian origins,[290] while Fehling classifies it as an "ethnographic lore (…) transformed into historical events". Fehling suggests, moreover, "this story had never had any independent existence in such a form; and hence any possibility of a Greek source for it is ruled out as well." Accordingly, he concludes that the author of the narrative is Herodotus himself.[291]

Though Asheri's interpretation of the sources and purpose of 3.17–25 is to be preferred to Hofmann and Vorblicher's or Fehling's definitions, the individual pieces of information appearing in the narrative still deserve a discussion that is prepared to bring into question the relevant Nubian evidence.

According to Suzanne Saïd,[292] Cambyses' biography is divided into two parts. The first (3.1–38), which prepares the second, relates Cambyses' fateful change from a humane king[293] to a madman who, disrespecting the traditions of both the Persians and the Egyptians, burns the corpse of King Amasis, launches an unjust campaign against the Aithiopians, and sins against the gods and his own kin. The second part (3.61–66) relates the ensuing awful

289 Asheri 2007c 415.

290 Hofmann–Vorbichler 1979 172 ff.

291 Fehling 1989 191 f.

292 Saïd 2002 130.

293 Remember his noble behaviour towards the defeated Psammenitus, i.e., Psamtek III (526–525 BC, cf. Lloyd 1975 189 ff.) in Chapter 14 of Book III.

punishment. One cannot fail to realize the dramatic quality of this biography. The vividness of the narrative "converting the listener [and the reader] into a spectator"[294] is indebted to tragedy, as also indicated by Cambyses' speech on his deathbed (3.65–66)[295] in which he admits his crime and "understands and accepts his death".[296]

In the Aithiopian passage, too, speech/conversation and narrator-text are in calculated dramatic interaction, even though this passage is "only" a purposeful interruption, a didactic digression in the tragic narrative of Cambyses' life. It functions as a warning that forecasts the catastrophic consequence of the Persian's misdeeds. The conversations between Cambyses' spies and the king of the long-lived Aithiopians[297] are pro and con speeches. Jasper Griffin associates Herodotus' contrasting speeches with the technique of Homer, concluding that it is "his moral concerns which resemble those of tragedy".[298] This is doubtless true, but I would not rule out *technical* associations, either.[299]

The Aithiopian account spans from the headline "Cambyses determined to launch three campaigns, one against the Carthaginians, another against the Ammonians, and a third against the long-lived Aithiopians"[300] to the conclusion[301] "So ended the expedition against Aithiopia".[302] Since the account of the campaigns is a continuation of the history of Egypt's conquest by Cambyses, it is likely that it (also) draws from Egyptian sources, both native and Greek.[303]

294 Saïd 2002 117.

295 Cf. Flower 2006 282.

296 Griffin 2006 52.

297 With reference to F. Hintze: *Studien zur meroitischen Chronologie*. Berlin 1959 22 ff., Asheri 2007c 420 suggests that in Cambyses' time the King of Meroe was Amani-nataki-lebte. The filiation of Amani-nataki-lebte is unknown and his Throne- and Son-of-Re names are known only from his pyramid burial Nu. 10 at Nuri, which was dated by its excavator G.A. Reisner on a typological basis to the second half of the sixth century BC, cf. Dunham 1955 3 (dating also adopted by Török 1997a 202; Hornung–Krauss–Warburton [eds] 2006 496 Table IV.3). The dating is hypothetical, however, and the supposed synchronism of Amani-nataki-lebte's approximately dated regency with the three years of Cambyses' regency between 525 and 522 BC remains undemonstrated.

298 Griffin 2006 54.

299 Cf. Grant 1995 28.

300 3.17, *FHN* I 325, trans. T. Eide.

301 For headlines and conclusions, see de Jong 2002 259 ff.

302 3.26, trans. de Sélincourt–Marincola 2003 181.

303 So also Asheri 2007c 415.

In the anti-Persian context of Chapters 2.1–3.66, Cambyses' intention to conquer lands west and south of Egypt represents a step towards his nemesis. In the terms of her myth of the state,[304] Egypt's expansion was both determined and justified by the concept of universal regency, which made it the duty of the ruler to extend *mꜣʿt*, Equity, and destroy *ἰsft*, Chaos.[305] The constant, unlimited growth of Egypt stops only at the ends of the earth. What is traditionally the fulfilment of the legitimate pharaoh's duty of expanding Egypt's borders (see Chapter 4.2 on Sesostris) becomes here a manifestation of the usurper's hubris, "a story of reckless daring and its disastrous consequences":[306] Cambyses is not a legitimate pharaoh. Accordingly, the unjustness of his military plans, especially the Aithiopian venture, is revealed from the very outset by his treacherous course of action. Namely, he sends spies to Aithiopia purportedly as envoys delivering diplomatic gifts to the king, but actually to "look in matters in general" and to see if it is true "what is told" about the famous Table of the Sun, which "is said" (λεγομένην εἶναι)[307] to be there.

Cambyses recruits his spies from Elephantine. The First Cataract region and the adjacent Lower Nubian area between the Nile and the Red Sea were multiethnic and multilingual. Cambyses' spies belong to the people of ἰχθυοφάγοι, Fish-eaters,[308] who know the Aithiopian language. Alongside the Trog[l]odytes, the Fish-eaters occur as speakers of Egyptian and Aithiopian in other sources as well.[309] Interpreters are traditionally associated with espionage: on the whole, their trade has negative connotations.[310] Before the Fish-eaters arrive at Cambyses' residence in Sais—where they would receive their mandate and return to the south of Egypt in order to travel then to Aithiopia—two digressions are inserted. The second digression (3.19) about the immediate

304 For Egyptian kingship, see above all Assmann 1990a; 1991; 1996; 2000a; O'Connor–Silverman (eds) 1995; Morris 2010; and cf. J. Assmann: *Politische Theologie zwischen Ägypten und Israel*. München 1992. For expansionism, cf. Kemp 1978; Frandsen 1979; Zibelius-Chen 1988; Smith 2003, etc.

305 Cf. Grimal 1986 53 ff., 683 ff.; Zibelius-Chen 1988 198 ff.; Assmann 1990a; Smith 2003 167 ff.

306 Romm 1992 89.

307 For the impersonal nature of λέγειν, see Dorati 2011 295 f.

308 A fabulous people mentioned later by Strabo, 2.5.33, *FHN* III No. 189, and in the AD fourth century by Epiphanius of Salamis, *De XII gemmis*, 19–21, ibid. No. 305.

309 E.g., U. Wilcken: *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit* II. Berlin-Leipzig 1927 227 (Apollonios, a Trog[l]odyte); Desanges 1978 230; O. Longo: I mangiatori di pesci: regime alimentare e quadro culturale. *MDATC* 18 (1987) 9–53; Asheri 2007c 418 f.

310 For the traditional association of interpreters with espionage, see Asheri 2007c 419.

failure of the campaign against Carthage does not concern us here.[311] The first digression (3.18) is about the properties of the Table of the Sun:[312]

> This is roughly what is told about the Table of the Sun: On the outskirts of the city [of Meroe] there is a meadow full of boiled meat from every kind of quadruped. During the night those of the citizens who at any moment are in office take care to place the meat there [de Sélincourt and Marincola translate 'it is the duty of the magistrates to put the meat here at night'[313]]; during the day anybody who so wishes may go there and eat. The natives say that it is the earth itself that produces the meat each time. This, then, is what is told about the so-called Table of the Sun.[314]

The "archaeological" identification of the Sun's Table with various temples discovered at the city of Meroe[315] is entirely without foundation (cf. Chapter 1.2). 3.18 actually records two contrasting traditions: in the first the meats are placed by the magistrates of the city of Meroe, in the second the earth itself produces them. The source of the first tradition is not specified: it "is told". Herodotus ascribes the second tradition to the locals: φάναι δὲ τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους, "the natives say". But we are certainly not mistaken if we identify here a Greek motif, namely, the banquets of the Aithiopians at which the Olympian gods participate. The first tradition is probably nothing else than Herodotus' retrospective "rational" explanation for what "the natives say".[316] In a later chapter (3.23) the spies/envoys would actually visit the Table of the Sun, but Herodotus does not say what they are seeing there.

8.1 *Excursus 4: Herodotus and Agatharchides*

Chapter 3.20 relates how the Fish-eaters arrive in the land of the long-lived Aithiopians and how they present Cambyses' gifts to their king (for the discussion of the gifts, see Chapter 4.9). The catalogue of the presents is followed by a brief ethnographical description of the νόμοι, customs and laws, of the long-lived Aithiopians. Herodotus reports (Chapter 2, Text 7) that they

311 The historian uses here information gathered from Greek (?) informants in Egypt. Cf. 3.5; Asheri 2007c 401f.

312 For a fine narratological discussion of the passage, see Dorati 2011 293ff.

313 Trans. de Sélincourt–Marincola 2003 178.

314 *FHN* I 326, trans. T. Eide.

315 See recently de Sélincourt–Marincola 2003 645 note 9, referring to Shinnie 1978 223.

316 Karttunen 2002 462, 467.

> are said to be the tallest and most handsome of all men. They are also said to have customs which set them apart from other peoples, especially the following concerning the royalty: the man among the citizens whom they find to be the tallest and to have strength in proportion to his height they find fit to be king.[317]

The Aithiopia tradition used here and in the Sabacos story (2.137 + 139, Chapter 2, Text 2, cf. Chapter 4.4) would appear in a more explicit form in Agatharchides of Cnidus' (born around 200 BC)[318] *On Affairs in Asia*:[319]

> Of the customs among the Aithiopians not a few appear to be very different from those of other peoples, especially as regards the election of kings. The priests first select the best candidates from among themselves, and from among these selected men the multitude then chooses as king him whom the god seizes[320] while being carried about in a procession in a traditional manner. They then immediately prostrate themselves before this man and honour him as a god, in the belief that the rule has been placed in his hands through the providence of the divinity (…) The strangest thing, however, is the circumstances that surround the death of their kings. In Meroe the priests who busy themselves with the worshiping and honouring the gods, the highest and most powerful class in the society, send a message to the king whenever it occurs to them, ordering him to die. This is an oracle sent them by the gods, they pretend (…) In former times the kings were subject to the priests, without being vanquished by arms or any force at all, but overpowered in their minds by just this kind of superstition. At the time of Ptolemy [II], however, Ergamenes, king of the Aithiopians, who had received instruction in Greek philosophy, was the first who dared disdain this command. With the determination worthy of a king he came with an armed force to the forbidden place where the golden temple of the Aithiopians was situated and slaughtered all the priests, abolished this tradition, and instituted practices at his own discretion.[321]

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317 *FHN* I 326, trans. T. Eide.

318 For the life and works of Agatharchides, see F. Schwartz: Agatharchides (3). *RE* I (1894) 739–741; Burstein 1989.

319 Known from Diodorus' excerpts, Diodorus 3.2.1–7.3, *FHN* II No. 142.

320 The verb λαμβάνειν is the common Greek word for "take hold of" or "grasp"; in the actual context, however, its meaning is probably "take possession of" in a religious sense, see T. Eide in: *FHN* II 646 note 307.

321 *FHN* II 646 f., trans. T. Eide.

For a Greek reader of Herodotus or of Agatharchides the election motif may have appeared familiar if s/he was aware of the tradition, according to which kingship in Macedonia was reserved for the Argead Dynasty descending from Zeus and Heracles. In the "selection" of the king—the result of which depended on the actual military and political situation—the military, the members of the royal family, and the assembly of the nobility equally participated. The concluding acclamation of the army was "a normal, ritual part of the process".[322] Both Herodotus and Agatharchides emphasize, however, that the long-lived Aithiopians have customs that set them apart from other peoples. The author of the *Histories* sees the Egyptians in the same light. According to Chapter 35 of Book II, the customs of the Egyptians are the reverse of all other peoples' customs:

> Not only is the Egyptian climate peculiar to that country, and the Nile different in its behaviour from other rivers elsewhere, but the Egyptians themselves in their manners and customs seem to have reversed the ordinary practices of mankind.[323]

The oppositions pointed out by Herodotus between the Egyptians and other peoples have a geographical explanation, in which the historian conforms to contemporary writers.[324] The case of the long-lived Aithiopians is of a different nature. Their customs as described in the *Histories* demonstrate *moral superiority* over the Persians (i.e., over the illegitimate ruler Cambyses).[325] Agatharchides then radically turns the tables when he qualifies the Aithiopian customs as δεισιδαιμονία, "superstition" that, *thanks to Ergamenes' Greek education*, is superseded by λογισμός, "reason".[326]

In a thought-provoking comment on Herodotus' description of Egyptian oracles in Chapter 2.83, Alan Lloyd interprets Agatharchides' account of Aithiopian kingship as a historical source.[327] He suggests that the process leading to the

322 E.N. Borza: Response (to N.G.L. Hammond: The Macedonian Imprint on the Hellenistic World, 12–23) in: Green (ed.) 1993 23–35 27; for a similar tradition of the Ptolemies, cf. Lloyd 2000 408; W. Huss: *Ägypten in hellenistischer Zeit 332–30 v. Chr.* München 2001 81ff.

323 Trans. de Sélincourt–Marincola 2003 109. Cf. Lloyd 1975 141ff.

324 Rood 2006 301f., cf. Thomas 2000 42ff., 130f.

325 For Herodotus' Scythians in Book IV of the *Histories* as an idealized "other" contrasted to the Greek world, see Hartog 1988.

326 Cf. Dihle 1961 223ff.

327 Lloyd 1976 346.

unfolding of the theocratic state of the Twenty-First Dynasty, in which the oracle of Amun of Thebes "became in a very real sense the ruler of a large part of Egypt", was carried to a "logical conclusion in Ethiopia where the oracle of Amun at Meroe decided when and where to go to war (…) while at Napata (…) it not only appointed the kings (…) but even decided when they should commit suicide to make way for younger men until Ergamenes put a stop to the practice".

The vision of such a monumental arch spanning from Herodotus' utopian kingship of Aithiopia via Twenty-First Dynasty theocracy[328] to Agatharchides' utopian kingship is doubtless impressive. It is supported, however, only by a biased Egyptological hypothesis, suggested first by George Andrew Reisner in the early twentieth century[329] and resurrected in Nubian Studies in the 1990s. Namely, relying on the Reisnerian hypothesis, it is argued[330] that the "Egyptianization" process in pre-Twenty-Fifth Dynasty Kush started with the (supposed!) arrival of rebellious Amun priests fleeing from Thebes to escape persecution from Crown Prince Osorkon of the Twenty-Second Dynasty.[331] On the same basis, students of Nubian history also argue in an even more radical form for the thesis of a *not*-inner-directed "Egyptianization":

> The Egyptianizing kingdom of Kush was almost certainly a continuum of Egyptian history (…) the Kushite state was a deliberate creation of the Amun priesthood of Thebes, partly to seek security from Tanite or

328 Cf. J. Assmann: *Re und Amun. Die Krise des polytheistischen Weltbildes in Ägypten der 18.-20. Dynastie* (*OBO* 51). Göttingen 1983; Römer 1994.

329 George Andrew Reisner, one of the greatest early twentieth century pioneers of Nubian Studies, created the methodology for survey and rescue archaeology, brought a new standard to the study of stratification, and established the framework of the cultural typology of the Middle Nile Region on the basis of his Lower Nubian excavations. His subsequent investigation of the Kushite royal necropoleis at el Kurru, Nuri, Gebel Barkal and Begarawiya North (and the royal/élite cemeteries of Begrawiya West and South), and finally of the temples of Napata (Gebel Barkal), led him to suggest a detailed chronology for the Kingdom of Kush. He reconstructed the history of the Middle Nile Region in terms of archaeological cultures identified with different peoples, connecting the "progressive" periods to the influx or domination of the superior Hamitic race and describing the periods which he interpreted as political and cultural decline as periods of immigration of Negroid peoples from the south. Cf. Török 1997a 14 f.

330 Kendall 1999 5, 57.

331 Prince Osorkon was appointed High Priest of Amun of Thebes around 840 BC. For his chronology and the events of his period, see R.A. Caminos: *The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*. Rome 1958; Kitchen 1996 330 ff.; Leahy (ed.) 1990.

> Herakleopolitan interference and partly to regain religious control over Nubia and to restore the long lost symbiosis of cult and kingship that had typified the New Kingdom and which gave the Theban establishment its *raison d'être*.[332]

The archaeological evidence, including the material from the pre-Twenty-Fifth-Dynasty section of the Kushite royal cemetery of el Kurru,[333] contradicts the Reisnerian hypothesis. Actually, it indicates a slow, inner-directed process of transformation leading from a complex (?) native chiefdom to an organically "Egyptianized" kingdom. It would be a misleading simplification to describe this process that started several generations before Kashta's contact with Egypt as a direct "Egyptianization" of native mortuary religion, burial and tomb types. In reality, it was a more comprehensive process in which native conceptions were continuously amalgamated with, rather than replaced by, Egyptian ideas (see also Chapter 1.1).[334]

We have to return for a moment to Agatharchides' Ergamenes. As an ethnographer, Agatharchides focused his interest on the problem of how it is possible for people to maintain traditions and customs, which cannot be explained on the basis of common sense and which, though they have a negative impact on human actions, are nevertheless retained merely because they are in accordance with certain religious concepts. The Ergamenes story demonstrates a blatant case in point. At the same time, it also presents an example of the superiority of Greek philosophy over such traditions. The principal message of the story is the victory of reason over superstition.[335]

The Ergamenes story is introduced with a fairly realistic description of the oracular confirmation of royal legitimacy. The motif of election may also have appeared familiar to the Greek reader who was aware of the aforementioned Macedonian tradition. It is also a feature of Greek kingship that "the good king is a philosopher".[336] Agatharchides's Ergamenes is identical with the historical

332 Kendall 2002 5.

333 See especially D. Dunham: *El Kurru*. Boston 1950, and cf. Chapter 1.3. See also Vincentelli 2006; Lohwasser 2010; Lohwasser 2012.—For recent archaeological work in the region of el Kurru, see G. Emberling et al.: New Excavations at El-Kurru: Beyond the Napatan Royal Cemetery. *Sudan & Nubia* 17 (2013) 42–60.

334 For the literature on the "Egyptianization" of the pre-Twenty-Fifth-Dynasty Upper Nubian polity, see Török 2008.

335 Dihle 1961 223 ff.

336 J. Bingen: Ptolemy I and the Quest for Legitimacy. in: Bingen 2007 15–30 17.

King Arkamaniqo,[337] ruler of the Kingdom of Meroe in the second quarter of the third century BC.[338] Arkamaniqo is frequently described in the literature[339] as a sort of "heretic" king *à la* Ekhnaton, who, by means of a royal coup d'état, put a violent end to the rule of the priests of Amun of Napata, separating thus church and state and also removing the centre of the kingdom geographically from their sphere by transferring the "capital" from Napata to Meroe (cf. Chapter 1.1). The interpretation of Agatharchides' story as a royal revolt against the authority of Amun's priesthood is certainly wrong if one realizes the unbroken continuity of Kushite kingship ideology with the cult of Amun of Thebes and a series of local Amun gods, among them Amun of Napata, at its centre.[340] It also appears unlikely if one takes due notice of the continuity of Napata as one of the principal royal seats of the land before, during, and after the reign of Arkamaniqo.[341]

The Ergamanes story reflects another kind of discontinuity. It is the coming to power of a new dynasty.[342] While Arkamaniqo did not "transfer the capital", he did transfer the royal burial ground from the neighbourhood of Napata, i.e., from the area that was traditionally connected with the founders of the Kingdom of Kush who originated there, to the neighbourhood of Meroe City.[343] His actual tomb, Begarawiya South 6,[344] which is situated on the lower edge of the hillock occupied by Begarawiya South Cemetery, a necropolis at Meroe City where aristocrats and royal wives had been buried since the reigns of Kashta and Piankhy (cf. Chapter 1.3), can most likely be interpreted as his interment in the cemetery of his non-ruling ancestors. Otherwise, the burial of a ruler in a low-lying, peripheral part of a non-royal cemetery would be more than unusual: indeed, Arkamaniqo's second successor[345] opened a new

337 F. Hintze: *Die Inschriften des Löwentempels von Musawwarat es Sufra* (*Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst Jahrgang* 1962 *Nr.* 1). Berlin 1962 16 f.

338 L. Török in *FHN* II 566 f.

339 For a survey, see S.M. Burstein: The Hellenistic Fringe: The Case of Meroe. in: Green (ed.) 1993 38–54 47 ff. (= Burstein 1995 105–123 111 ff.).

340 Cf. Török 1997a 263 ff.; Török 2002 *passim*.

341 Cf. Török 2002 306 ff.

342 Török 1992.

343 For the royal burials at Napata, see Dunham 1955 (Nuri), Dunham 1957 (Barkal); at Meroe City: Dunham 1957 (Begarawiya North), Dunham 1963 (Begarawiya South).

344 Dunham 1957 27 ff.

345 His direct successor Amanislo was buried next to him in the pyramid tomb Beg. S. 5 situated in an even less prominent part of the hillock, see Dunham 1957 37.

royal burial ground (Begarawiya North) on the top of another hillock next to Begarawiya South.[346]

Albeit transferring them into the realm of the Herodotean motif of the massacre of the priests, Agatharchides' Ergamenes story hints at the violent circumstances in which the new dynasty emerged. The historical Arkamaniqo's remarkable Throne name lends further support to the above-sketched interpretation. He adopted the Throne name *Ḫnm-ỉb-Rʿ*, "The-heart-of-Re-rejoices," of Amasis of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty. Amasis did not hide the fact from his contemporaries that he violently deposed his predecessor.[347] Imitating Amasis' Throne name as the only one among the Egyptian and Meroitic rulers,[348] Arkamaniqo directly associated himself with an Egyptian king who was known to posterity as a usurper.[349] Significantly, Amasis' most important features in Herodotus' description, viz., a usurper in the beginning, later a "lover of the Greeks" (2.178), may also be extracted from Agatharchides' Ergamenes-portrait. While other elements of the Ergamenes story come in fact from different stories of Herodotus, this parallelism is more likely historical, a parallelism that was felt and brought to expression by Arkamaniqo himself. The model of Arkamaniqo's Throne name, the change of the royal burial ground connected to his reign, and the elements of the classical Egypt- and Aithiopia-traditions associated with him all fit into the homogeneous picture of a dynastic change of epochal importance.

9 The Land of the Long-Lived Aithiopians Continued

The physical perfection of Herodotus' long-lived Aithiopians is the adoption of a utopian *topos*. The motif of the election of the man among the citizens who is found to be the tallest and having strength in proportion to his height is similarly utopian. Classical authors describe several parallels for the "democratic" election of the king on grounds of virtue, wealth, skill in husbandry,

346 For the development of the burial ground at Begarawiya South, cf. I. Hofmann: *Beiträge zur meroitischen Chronologie*. St. Augustin bei Bonn 1978; Török 2011a 109 ff.

347 For his stela from Year 1 see H. de Meulenaere: Amasis. *LÄ* I (1973) 181–182.

348 Unless the epithet *Stp-nṯrw*, "Chosen-of-the-Gods", in the Throne name of Arkamaniqo's fifth successor, Adikhalamani, repeats Amasis' Golden Horus name: in this case, we would have good reason to suppose that Amasis' titulary (and additional information) could be found in some archives in Meroe. Cf. *FHN* II 590; for the archives in Kush, see my discussion of the royal titularies in Török 2002a 335 ff. and see here Chapter 4.3.

349 Meulenaere 1951 85 ff.

etc.[350] Without presenting a conclusion concerning Herodotus' sources, Asheri draws a parallel between Agatharchides' election procedure, which includes a pre-election made by the priests and its subsequent divine confirmation, on the one hand, and, on the other, the testimony of the Kushite royal inscriptions which describe a kind of pre-election of one of the "royal brothers" by certain groups of the people and its subsequent oracular confirmation by Amun.[351]

As it is reconstructed on the basis of the epigraphical evidence, the investiture of the king of Kush started with the announcement of the death of the predecessor. It found the future king in the company of the "king's brothers". The inscriptions introduce them and other persons (viz., the army, the chief officials of the government, and the priesthood) as *groups* involved in the investiture rites and not as *individuals*. Playing the role of the chorus in the enthronement drama and then acting as a medium of divine will, they represent *the whole of mankind*. First they articulate humankind's terrified reaction to Chaos that immediately encroaches at the death of the ruler, give expression to the despair of the herd without a herdsman, and then, assuming the role of the medium of divine will, they declare the predestination/charisma of the heir apparent and announce the global consensus concerning the heir apparent's succession.

King Aspelta's *Election Stela* was quoted above (Chapter 4.7) in connection with the episode of the oracular "election" of the new ruler. Let us now have a glance at the preceding episodes of the investiture rites. The inscription starts with the dating and Aspelta's full titulary. These sections are followed by a variation on the traditional "king's novel"[352] opening formula: "Now His Majesty's entire army was in the town named Pure-mountain".[353] The text sets forth with the account of a council of the army commanders and the kingdom's high officials. The council discusses the threat of Chaos and annihilation to which the world is delivered by the death of Aspelta's predecessor. It decides that it is only Amun-Re of Napata who can find the new king, for

> It has been the work of Re since heaven came into being,
> and (ever) since crowning the king came into being.

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350 E.g., Diodorus 3.5.1, Strabo 17.2.3; cf. Murray 1970 153 ff.; Asheri 2007c 420.

351 Asheri 2007c 420.

352 On the genre of the Egyptian king's novel, see A. Loprieno: The "King's Novel". in: Loprieno (ed.) 1996 277–295. On Kushite examples of the king's novel, see Török 2002 342–448, esp. 342–367.

353 *Ḏw-wꜥb*, "Pure-mountain", name of the sacred mountain of Gebel Barkal and of Napata.

> He has (always) given it to his son whom he loves
> because the king among the living is the image of Re.[354]

The dramatically construed council scene[355] contains a series of speeches presenting a summary of the principal concepts of the Kushite myth of the state.[356] The participants in the council, representing both the government of the kingdom and, symbolically, the whole of mankind, proceed then to the temple where they pray to the god for an oracular decision.[357] First the "king's brothers" are placed before Amun, who does not "take one of them". Then Aspelta is placed before the god who accepts him as his son and recognizes his kingship. Next, Aspelta receives a royal oracle and a divine decree of legitimation. The proclamation of the divine decree occurs publicly in front of the assembled court and priesthood. After this, the following rites are performed: Aspelta prays for kingship, he receives a *Königsorakel*, recites another prayer, and finally is mystically initiated into kingship in the intimacy of Amun's inner sanctuary.

Returning to Herodotus' narrative, Chapters 3.21–23 of the *Histories* relate the dialogue between the king of the long-lived Aithiopians and the spies posing as Cambyses' envoys. The dialogue opens with the speech of the spies, quoted by Herodotus in first-person plural. The "envoys" announce that the king of the Persians wishes to become the friend and protector of the king of the long-lived Aithiopians. They reveal that Cambyses ordered them to enter

354 *FHN* I No. 37, lines 8–9, transl. R.H. Pierce.

355 U. Verhoeven: Amun zwischen 25 Männern und zwei Frauen. Bemerkungen zur Inthronisationsstele des Aspelta. in: W. Clarysse–A. Schoors–H. Willems (eds): *Egyptian Religion. The Last Thousand Years. Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Jan Quaegebeur*. Leuven 1998 1487–1501 1414 suggests that, as opposed to my remark in *FHN* I 247, the rendering of the council scene does *not* point towards a performance, since "… dieser Teil [gleicht] eher einer Lagebesprechung oder eben Debatte, die den Entschluss für eine bestimmte Strategie, besonders im militärischen Bereich, dient. Bemerkenswert ist (…) die Anonymität und Egalität der Beteiligten". I cannot see a contradiction between the contents of the passage and its dramatic form.

356 For the Kushite myth of the state, see Török 1995a; 1995b; 1997a 255–299; 1999; 2002 331–448; for alternative views, see the literature referred to in the next note and cf. also K. Jansen-Winkeln: Alara und Taharka: zur Geschichte des nubischen Königshauses. *Or* 72 (2003) 141–158; Morkot 2003.

357 For the interpretation of the election rite as an actual election from among candidates of equal chances, see Lohwasser 2000; 2001 249 ff. and cf. also E.Y. Kormysheva: The Officials at the Court of Meroitic Kings and Their Role in King's Election. in: *Sesto congresso internazionale di Egittologia Atti* II. Torino 1992 253–257.

into negotiations with him and deliver his presents, "which he [Cambyses] too takes special pleasure in using himself". For "protector" Herodotus uses here ξεῖνός, a technical term of the Greek institution of "official friendship" or "guestfriendship".[358]

In answer, the king of the Aithiopians unmasks them in a speech, quoted by Herodotus in first-person singular, as spies, and their lord as an unjust man who in truth sent them not as bringers of gifts and who does not want to become his friend, but is actually planning to conquer his land (3.21). Herodotus gives in the mouth of the king of the long-lived Aithiopians one of his most important moral comments on expansionism in general and Persian expansionism in particular:[359]

> Neither did the King of the Persians send you as bringers of gifts because he considers it important to become my friend (ξεῖνός); nor are you telling the truth—for you have come as spies against my kingdom—nor is he a just man. For if he had been just, he would not have coveted another country than his own, nor would he reduce to slavery men who have done him no wrong.[360]

Asheri's suggestion that the central topic of Book III is the conflict between falsehood and truth and that the narrative also incorporates the knowledge of the mazdaic dualism of Ormuz and Ahriman is supported by the presence of other materials of Persian origin in the *Histories*[361] as well as by the connections between Herodotus' account of Darius' accession and Darius' *Behistun* (*Bisitun*) *Inscription*,[362] a propaganda text[363] leaving the following admonition to posterity:

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358 For *xeinos*, see D. Kienast: Presbeia. *RE Suppl.* XIII (1973) 499–628 581 ff.; F. Gschnitzer: Proxenos. ibid. XIII 629–730 661 ff.; for προξενία, "guestfriendship", see C. Marek: *Die Proxenie*. Frankfurt 1984.

359 Cf. also V. Hunter: *Past and Process in Herodotus and Thucydides*. Princeton 1982 178 ff.; Bichler 2004 96 f.

360 3.21, Chapter 2, Text 7.

361 Cf. Flower 2006.

362 For the editions of, and literature on the great trilingual rock inscription near the village of Behistun, about 33 km east of Kermanshah in Media, see D. Asheri: Appendix I. in: Asheri–Lloyd–Corcella 2007 529 f.; for Maria Brosius' English translation of the inscription, see Brosius 2007.

363 Asheri 2007c 385 ff., 458 f.

> Darius the king says: "You who shall be king hereafter, protect yourself vigorously from the Lie. The man who follows the Lie, punish him severely, if you shall think thus: 'Let my country be secure' ".[364]

Returning to the dialogue between Cambyses' spies and the king of the long-lived Aithiopians, the latter continues his speech as follows:

> "Now give him [Cambyses] this bow and tell him this, 'The King of the Aithiopians has a piece of advice for the King of the Persians. When the Persians can draw bows that are of this size as easily as this, then let him march against the long-lived Aithiopians with a superior force; but he should be grateful to the gods that up to now they have not put it in the minds of the children of the Aithiopians to acquire other land than their own' ".[365]

The motif of the bow—the difficult task and its solution by the hero—belongs to the repertory of mythical tales and also occurs in the Homeric poems (for instance, Telemachos cannot draw Odysseus' bow[366]). Next, the king inspects the presents sent by Cambyses, namely, a purple robe, a necklace and bracelets of gold, an alabaster jar of myrrh, and a jar of Phoenician wine. Learning the truth about the dyeing of the purple robe, a symbol of monarchy (cf. 3.139), the king is reported to declare that the Persians are as deceptive as their clothes[367]—obviously, he is aware that accepting the robe he also would accept Cambyses' overlordship.[368] In the necklace and bracelets he sees symbols of slavery. While the myrrh receives the same comment as the purple robe, the Phoenician wine is received more enthusiastically. But it gives the king the opportunity to ask about the diet and the drinks of the king of Persia and about what was the longest a Persian could live. Learning that the maximum lifetime was eighty years in Persia, the Aithiopian replies that this is so because the Persians feed on manure (κόπρος). He reveals that most of the Aithiopians attain one hundred and twenty years because they eat boiled meat and

364 Column IV § 55, Brosius 2007 535.

365 3.21, Chapter 2, Text 7.

366 *Od.* 21.118 ff., cf. Hofmann–Vorbichler 1979 68 ff.

367 Shown in the earlier part of his career as a Zoroastrian abhorring lie, the master of the spies posing as envoys is unmasked as a liar, who is then enraged, and made mad, by the Aithiopian's reaction and perhaps by the ambiguous nature of the marvels of the land of the Aithiopians. Cf. Baragwanath 2008 113 ff.

368 Cf. Asheri 2007c 422.

drink milk and the water of a miraculous fountain, which is the cause of their longevity.[369]

After visiting this actual fountain, the king takes the spies to a men's prison where "all were bound in fetters of gold", demonstrating thus the little value gold has in utopia. The abundance of gold is a feature of the fringes,[370] similarly to the Table of the Sun that the king and Cambyses' spies visit next (see Chapter 4.8). Finally, Chapter 3.24 relates their visit at the transparent coffins of the Aithiopians. The description of the latter reflects in part Herodotus' knowledge of Egyptian mummification, cartonnage-making, and mortuary offerings (cf. 2.85–88), and is in part fantastic.

The mocking of the king of the Aithiopians is directed against civilization in which man has to fabricate everything he needs. Civilization is shown as inferior to the natural way of life of the peripheral peoples. The only exception is palm wine, which peoples of the fringes drink moderately (according to the Greek tradition, it is *excess* that has catastrophic effects, as Herodotus stresses again and again[371]). Cambyses himself is accused of being driven "to frenzy and madness" by wine (3.34). On the whole, the king's comments on Cambyses' gifts convey Herodotus' criticism.[372]

The encounter of the spies with the king of the long-lived Aithiopians closes in Chapter 3.24 with the remark:

> The closest relatives [of the dead] keep the block [i.e., the transparent coffin] in their houses for a year, bringing it all the first-fruit offerings and sacrifices; thereafter they take it away and set it up outside the city.[373]

It is not entirely irrelevant to quote here some later evidence on a much-discussed aspect of the treatment of the mummy in its coffin in late Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt.[374] There are good reasons for believing that in the period

369 Possibly a Homeric motif, cf. *Od.* 3.1–2; Asheri 2007c 423.

370 Cf. 3.106: India; 3.116: Scythia; 4.195: Libya.

371 1.106; 1.207; 1.211 ff.; 2.121; 3.4; 6.84.

372 "In fact what is under attack here are the most basic underpinnings of Mediterranean technology and material culture (…) The most esteemed products of a sophisticated, manufacturing-based society suddenly lose their value when viewed through the eyes of *Naturvölker*, for whom the raw materials supplied by nature are sufficient to meet every need": Romm 1992 57.

373 *FHN* I 328, trans. T. Eide.

374 I am following here the discussion of the problem in my *Transfigurations of Hellenism. Aspects of Late Antique Art in Egypt AD 250–700* (*Probleme der Ägyptologie* 23). Leiden-

between the first century BC and the AD third century mummies with or without painted portraits or portrait masks were kept at home, where they were displayed in the portico or the court or the domestic shrine where they were venerated by the family for a period of time (several years?) before they would have been buried in a family or a communal vault.[375] As Silius Italicus (d. AD 101) says in his *Punica*,

> [t]he Egyptians enclose their dead, standing in an upright position, in a coffin of stone, and worship it; and they admit a bloodless spectre to their banquets.[376]

While Silius is mistaken as to the material of the coffins, the essence of his testimony is also supported by Lucian (AD second century) who writes in his *De luctu* that the Egyptian "after drying the dead man makes him his guest at table".[377] Besides Diodorus[378] and Cicero,[379] also the *Life of Antony* (attributed perhaps wrongly to Athanasius)[380] may be quoted here according to which the saint forbade his pupils to bring his body back to the valley after his death "in order to place it in a house".

Instead of a stone coffin, as Silius erroneously writes, the mummy may in fact have been displayed in an aedicula-like wooden "shrine sarcophagus"[381] the

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Boston 2005 296 ff.—For the evidence of Teles of Megara (third century BC), Diodorus 1.91, Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* 1.108.2 (first century BC), Pomponius Mela 1.9.27 (AD first century), see D. Montserrat: Death and Funerals in the Roman Fayum. in: Bierbrier (ed.) 1997 33–44; B. Gessler-Löhr: Mummies and Mummification. in: Riggs (ed.) 2012 664–683 666. For later Roman evidence, see below.

375 Borg 1996 196 ff.; Borg 1997; Parlasca 1999 26.

376 Silius Italicus, *Punica* 13.475, ed. and trans. J.D. Duff, Loeb edn. vol. II. Cambridge Mass.-London 1961, quoted by Borg 1997 26.

377 Lucian, *De luctu* 21, ed. and trans. A.M. Harmon, Loeb edn. vol. IV. Cambridge Mass.-London 1961, quoted by Borg 1997 26.

378 Diodorus 1.92.6.

379 Cicero, *Tusc.* 1.108.

380 Cf. F. Dunand–R. Lichtenberg: Pratiques et croyances funéraires en Égypte romaine. in: *ANRW* II.18.5 (1995) 3216–3315, 3276 with note 271.—For the issue of authorship, see G.J.M. Bartelink: *Athanase: Vie d'Antoine*. Paris 1994 27 ff.; D. Brakke: *Athanasius and Asceticism*. Baltimore 1998 15 with note 31; T.D. Barnes: Athanasius. in: G.W. Bowersock–P. Brown–O. Grabar (eds): *Late Antiquity. A Guide to the Postclassical World*. Cambridge Mass.-London 1999 320–321.

381 E.g., coffin of Padichons from Abusir el-Melek, Berlin 17039, Seipel (ed.) 1998 88 ff. Cat. 15, AD first century.

doors of which were opened during mortuary repasts or other commemorative rites held in the context of domestic cult.[382] The representation of a "shrine sarcophagus" of this type may be found in one of the pronaos reliefs of the late fourth–early third-century-BC Petosiris tomb at Tuna el-Gebel.[383] Illusionistic paintings on AD third-century mummy shrouds from Antinoopolis represent the deceased standing "in the door" of a coffin.[384]

Chapter 3.25 relates the terrible punishment of the unjust conqueror. Armies starving on account of the hubris of Persian kings also appear elsewhere in the *Histories*: in 4.131 the army of Dareios, and in 8.115 the army of Xerxes perishes in this manner. Cambyses' Aithiopian campaign is not historical.[385] Nevertheless, as ruler of Egypt he was in fact present in Aithiopia: Lower Nubia was conquered by Psamtek II in 593 BC and it remained under Egyptian domination during the Saite period as well as in the reigns of Cambyses, Darius I and Xerxes. It returned under Kushite supremacy only some time during the revolt of Inaros (between *c.* 463/2–449 BC, cf. Chapter 4.5).

Chapter 3.25 gives a horrifying and powerfully unambiguous answer to the moral problem of unjust expansionism. As to further associations of the disaster of the Persian army, it is worth noting that, ever since Homer's Laestrygonians and Cyclopes,[386] the Greek tradition brought the motif of cannibalism into connection with the fringes. It is in this context that cannibalism repeatedly occurs in the *Histories*, too.[387] But do we correctly understand that it is the moral criticism attributed to the king of the Aithiopians that conveys alone *the* central message of Chapters 3.17–26 of the *Histories*? As it seems, the message is double-faced. According to Thomas Harrison's acute observation, the story implies equally strongly that expansionist states cannot be held back:

382 Riggs 2005 149 ff. does not consider the "shrine sarcophaguses" from the aspect of the domestic cult of the dead.

383 N. Cherpion–J.-P. Corteggiani–J.-Fr. Gout: *Le tombeau de Pétosiris à Touna el-Gebel. Relevé photographique* (*BiGen* 27). Le Caire 2007 scene 68 c.

384 Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités Egyptiennes AF 6486 (shroud of a boy), AF 6484, 6487 (shrouds of women): Parlasca–Seemann (eds) 1999 Cats 199, 200.

385 Although it is considered historical by, e.g., Kienitz 1953 55; 130 ff.; Welsby 1996 65 f.—For the scholarly debate on its alleged historicity, which frequently operates with selected evidence and outdated interpretation, see the somewhat hesitating comments in Asheri 2007c 425 f.

386 Burkert 1990 9; Blok 2002 239; Karttunen 2002 461 ff.

387 Massagetae: 1.216; Indian Padaei: 3.99–100; Issedones: 4.26. Cf. Blok 2002 239; Karttunen 2002 461 ff.

It might be better if peoples were able to remain apart in peace, but contact is inevitable—and, just as inevitably, contact leads to war.[388]

10 The Gifts Presented to the King of Persia by the Aithiopians Living South of Egypt

In Chapters 89–96 of Book III Herodotus presents catalogues of the twenty ἀρχαί or satrapies set up by Darius I and lists the tributes delivered by them. In Chapter 97 of Book III (here Chapter 2, Text 8, with Burstein's emendation[389]) the historian enumerates the peoples upon which no regular tax was imposed but which were compelled to deliver gifts. Herodotus names here the Aithiopians with the remark that Cambyses subdued them when he marched against the long-lived Aithiopians (cf. Chapter 4.9). Even if he was probably unaware of this, he conveyed here information concerning *Lower Nubia*, because the tribute list could include only the region between the First and Second Cataracts, which was taken from the Kingdom of Kush under the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty and was first under Egyptian, then Persian domination until Herodotus' own time (Chapters 1.2, 3, 4.5). The historian also includes in his list the Aithiopians who live around the holy mountain of Nysa, further the Colchians and the neighbouring tribes, and finally the Arabians. Under Cambyses the Aithiopi-

388 Harrison 2002 556.

389 The following should be remarked on the traditional emendation adopted by de Sélincourt and Marincola. Several modern editors of the *Histories*, including Stein 1893 and Legrand 1939, consider the sentence an intrusion about the black colour of the Callantians' and the Aithiopians' semen (which is the same as the colour of their skin). The word "sperm" (σπέρμα) for semen may also have the meaning "seed grain", while the subterranean dwellings apply to the Aithiopian Trog[l]odytes (4.183, here Chapter 2, Text 10, see Chapter 4.11). The Callantian Indians appear in Chapter 38 of Book III as cannibals eating their parents. There may be little doubt that they are a fabulous people living on the fringes of the inhabited world (the *Kallatiai* already occur in Hecataeus, *FGrHist* 1 F 298). 3.38 relates a contest between them and some Greeks in Darius I's court in Susa in which they dispute the value of each other's *nomoi*, in particular the tradition concerning the dead bodies of their fathers. From the contest the Herodotean lesson is drawn that "each group regards its own customs as by far the best", which function within the given community as a natural law. Indeed, "One can see (…) what custom can do, and Pindar, in my opinion, was right when he called it 'king of all'" (Hdt. 3.38, trans. de Sélincourt–Marincola 2003 187.—Cf. Cartledge–Greenwood 2002 366; for the Pindar fragment, see Immerwahr 1966 319ff.; de Sélincourt–Marincola 2003 646 note 16 and cf. Baragwanath 2008 115ff.)

ans delivered every second year, "and still deliver in my [Herodotus'] time two *choinikes* of unrefined gold,[390] two hundred logs of ebony, five Aithiopian boys, and twenty great elephant tusks".

Herodotus' catalogue of the satrapies corresponds with Persian *dahyāva*, "lists of peoples", and with Persian catalogues of "lands inhabited by peoples".[391] His sequence is hellenocentric as to the order of the satrapies, i.e., it is manipulated; but half of his provinces correspond to the historical satrapies, as they are known from later evidence, while it is only around one third of the *dahyāva* that can be identified in the same sources.

Classical literature variously locates the sacred mountain of Nysa[392] in Aithiopia, Libya, India, Thrace, or on one of the Greek islands. Here and in 2.146 Herodotus sites it "in Aithiopia above Egypt", i.e., at a "furthest place".[393] According to Stanley Burstein's emendation of 3.97, the gifts sent to the king of Persia represent in reality the tribute of *two groups* of Aithiopians, namely, the Aithiopians living in Lower Nubia under the domination of Egypt's Persian rulers, and the independent Aithiopians living south of Lower Nubia, i.e., in the Kingdom of Kush. Such an interpretation of the passage is also supported by the location of Nysa in 2.146 as well as the composition of the gifts. It is important to note, however, that the original Persian source presented an official list of the taxes of the Aithiopians of Lower Nubia under Persian domination in combination with a list of the gifts of the king of Kush. It cannot be exactly decided which items of the list represent the tributes of the Lower Nubians and which items *may* be identified as actual gifts of the king of Kush. Be that as it may, it has to be noted that if the elephant tusks were to be delivered by the Lower Nubian Aithiopians, they had to be acquired from the king of Kush, since after the early New Kingdom elephants could no longer be hunted in Lower Nubia.[394] While gold dust may have been a Lower Nubian tribute, the ebony logs and the Aithiopian boys came more likely from the king of Kush. We may conclude that Herodotus combines here the Aithiopians of Lower Nubia with the Aithiopians of the Greek utopian tradition in a way that leaves no

390 I.e., gold-dust: the *choinix* was a Greek dry measure, particularly for corn; the Attic *choinix* was the equivalent of 1.1 litre (note by T. Eide, *FHN* I 313 n. 86).

391 For a comparative list of the satrapies and peoples in the *Histories* and in the Persian inscriptions, see Appendix II in: Asheri 2007c 538–542.

392 The interpretation by Desanges 1978 233 note 93 of the name as a rendering of ancient Egyptian *Tꜣ-nḥsy*, "Bow-land", i.e., Nubia, is without foundation.

393 Cf. J. Bergman: *Ich bin Isis. Studien zum memphitischen Hintergrund der griechischen Isisaretalogien.* Uppsala 1968 35 f.

394 Cf. Zibelius-Chen 1988 112 ff.; Morkot 1998.

doubt that he ignored the really existing Kingdom of Kush and received only second-hand information about the contents of the Persian list of taxes and gifts.

11 Two Aithiopian Passages in the Libyan *Logos*: The Autochthonous Origin of the Aithiopians. The Aithiopian Trog[l]odytes

The Aithiopian passages discussed in this chapter are inserted in the account of the Libyan tribes and their customs (4.168–199). Like other ancient writers, Herodotus uses the geographical term "Libya" to describe the whole of Africa west of the Nile.[395] In 4.197 (here Chapter 2, Text 9), however, it is *Aithiopia* that denotes the entire territory of Africa beyond Elephantine. In this context, the Aithiopians are a peripheral *ethnē* who inhabit the second circle of the world, i.e., the region of the fabulous peoples, and have nothing to do with the "really existing" Aithiopians living along the borders of Egypt (cf. Chapter 4.7). The third circle is the unknown world.

The inhabitants of the second circle "can only be known through indirect information"[396] (cf. Chapter 4.1). According to Justus Cobet,

> If *ethnē* have a history of their own at all, it is stories about beginnings. There are two stereotypes which explain why people came to be where they lived. Either they have always been there as "autochthonous", *Ureinwohner*, or they came there a long time ago.[397]

The information about the Aithiopians in 4.197 conforms with Cobet's first-named stereotype. In turn, Chapter 183 of Book IV (here Chapter 2, Text 10) presents a typical example of the combination of classical stereotypes concerning fabulous peoples living in the second circle of the world with features that students of the *Histories* are inclined to interpret as deriving from realistic ethnographical information.

The original form of the Greek ethnonym τρωγλοδύται was probably τρωγοδύται: τρωγλοδύται, "who enter into holes", i.e., the "cave-dwellers", was a popular etymology.[398] In Egyptian texts the Trog[l]odytes of the Greek authors appear

395 Honigmann 1926; T. Eide in: *FHN* I 319 note 88.

396 Fehling 1989 101.

397 Cobet 2002 404.

398 Cf. Agatharchides of Cnidus, *fragments* 62a–65, Burstein 1989 108 ff.; K. Jahn: Trogodytai. *RE* II.7 (1948) 2497–2500; *FHN* I 331; Corcella 2007 706.

under the name *ʾIwntyw*.[399] We know that Nekau II of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty sent a military expedition to Lower Nubia in order to secure the commercial road along the Nile (Chapter 4.5). The inscription commemorating this undertaking[400] is too fragmentary to give a precise idea of the geographical range of the expedition, in which vessels transporting horses for manoeuvres on land were sent upstream, too. The latter detail indicates that the campaign could not go farther south than the Second Cataract. This would conform with the texts of later authors who locate the Trog[l]odytes between the Nile and the Red Sea.[401]

The apparently purely fabulous catalogue of the characteristics of the Aithiopian Trog[l]odytes as they are presented in the *Histories* is sometimes believed to include realistic features. Aldo Corcella suggested recently that the Trog[l]odytes were ancestors of the "modern melanodermic farmers of the oases and of the Tebu of the Tibesti", i.e., the "Rock People" living today in northern Chad around the Tibesti mountains and in southern Libya, north-eastern Niger and southwestern Sudan. According to Corcella, the "Rock People" are "to this day (...) famously good runners".[402] Corcella also suggests that the comparison of the Trog[l]odytes' voices with the squeaking of bats "can find a confirmation in the unusual sounds of the language of the Tebu".[403] He hastens to add a more probable explanation too, however, reminding his reader "the Greeks normally likened foreign languages to the sounds of birds".[404]

12 A Meditation on the Fringes

Herodotus devotes eleven chapters of Book III (3.106–116) to his account of the remotest regions of the inhabited world. He introduces it with a sentence

399 For the ancient sources on the Trog[l]odytes, see Desanges 2008 39 ff., comments on Pliny, *NH* 6.163–197.

400 C. Müller: Drei Stelenfragmente. in: W. Kaiser et al.: Stadt und Tempel von Elephantine. Fünfter Grabungsbericht. *MDAIK* 31 (1975) 80–84 83 f.; F. Junge: *Elephantine* XI. *Funde und Bauteile*. Mainz 1987 66 f.; K. Jansen-Winkeln: Zur Schiffsliste aus Elephantine. *GM* 109 (1989) 31.

401 Cf. Eratosthenes in Strabo 17.1.2, *FHN* II No. 109; Agatharchides in Diodorus 3.33.2, ibid. No. 147; J. Desanges: Les sources de Pline dans sa description de la Troglodítique et de l'Éthiopie (*NH* 6, 163–197). in: *Pline l'Ancien, témoin de son temps*. Salamanca-Nantes 1987 277–292.

402 Corcella 2007 706, with reference to J. Tschudi: *Pitture rupestri del Tassili degli Azer* (*Sahara Algerino*). Firenze 1955 31; J. Chapelle: *Nomades noirs du Sahara*. Paris 1982 33 ff.

403 Corcella 2007 706.

404 Corcella 2007 706 f., cf. Hdt. 2.57.

that forecasts the principal message of these chapters, namely that there exists an equal distribution of good and evil and there is a global balance in the world:[405]

> It would seem that the remotest parts of the world have the finest products, whereas Greece has far the best and most temperate climate.[406]

The account continues with an overview of the marvels to be found on the fringes of the inhabited world, discussing first India (3.106), then the Arabians at the southern (3.107–113) and the Aithiopians at the southwestern extreme (3.114, here Chapter 2, Text 11), the European regions at the western extreme (3.115), and finally the European regions at the northern fringe (3.116). Using the technique of "ring composition",[407] the account concludes with a sentence referring back to the opening sentence:[408]

> In any case it does seem to be true that the countries which lie on the circumference of the inhabited world produce the things which we believe to be most rare and beautiful.[409]

The significance of the global balance is viewed in the *Histories* mainly from two central positions, viz., from Greece and Persia. The Greek attitude does not concern us here. As to the Persians, they consider their geographical position as the basis of their cultural and political superiority and believe that the inferiority of the peoples living on the fringes is a consequence of their opposite geographical position. The *Histories* offer several powerful examples of how the hubris of the Persians is punished. The account of Cambyses' failed Aithiopian campaign in 3.17–26 (Chapters 4.8, 9) presents an especially impressive example.[410]

Excerpting partly 3.17–26, in 3.114 (here Chapter 2, Text 11) the historian gives a brief list of the marvels of Aithiopia extending "toward the setting sun, the furthest inhabited country". To the marvels introduced in 3.17, viz., the

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405 Cf. Rood 2006 297; Asheri 2007c 500.

406 3.106, trans. de Sélincourt–Marincola 2003 216 f.

407 I. Beck: *Die Ringkomposition bei Herodot und ihre Bedeutung für die Beweistechnik*. Hildesheim-New York 1971; Bakker 2006 93; Asheri 2007c 505.

408 Cf. Rood 2006 297 f.; Asheri 2007c 505.

409 3.116, trans. de Sélincourt–Marincola 2003 220.

410 Cf. Romm 1992 55 ff.

physical perfection and long lifespan of the Aithiopians, and the abundance of gold in their land, Herodotus adds here "huge elephants, all kinds of wild trees, and ebony". The wild trees belong to the paradisiac landscape of utopian peripheries. Elephant ivory and ebony occur in the catalogue of the Aithiopian tribute sent to the kings of Persia (3.97, here Chapter 2, Text 8, cf. Chapter 4.10). Their mention in Text 11 derives from the same source. Egyptians considered ebony one of the most important Nubian imports ever since the Old Kingdom. Ebony would still appear among the tributes of several Lower Nubian regions in Ptolemy VI's Nubian nome list inscribed in the Philae Isis temple,[411] and centuries later Diodorus[412] and Strabo[413] list the ebony tree with the most common trees growing in the Meroitic kingdom, such as the date palm, persea, and carob tree.

13 Aithiopian "Half-Men" in the Army of Xerxes I

We have discussed Herodotus' catalogue of the satrapies and tributes of the Persian Empire in Chapter 4.10. In Chapters 62–95 of his Book VII the historian complements it with a catalogue of the ethnic contingents in Xerxes I's army. Both catalogues may be compared to a series of lists of lands and peoples appearing in Persian royal inscriptions from the reigns of Darius and Xerxes I as well as to representations of the peoples of the Persian Empire from the *Apadana*[414] and the "Hall of a Hundred Columns" at Persepolis and Darius' tomb at Naqsh-i Rustem.[415]

Chapter 69 of Book VII (here Chapter 2, Text 12) is inserted into the account of Xerxes I's review of the Persian army at Doriscus in Thrace (7.61–99).[416] It describes the costume and weapons of the Aithiopians fighting in the Persian army. They are wearing leopard and lion skins, their weapons are bows of palm wood, reed arrows with tips made of stone instead of iron, spears with horns of gazelles sharpened to a point as spearheads, and clubs with knobs. The historian adds, "They go into battle with one half of their body smeared with chalk,

411 Zibelius-Chen 1988 93 f.
412 Diodorus 1.3.
413 Strabo 17.2, *FHN* III No. 187.
414 Walser 1966.
415 Cf. Asheri 2007c 538–542, Appendix II. List of Satrapies and Peoples in Herodotus and in the Persian Inscriptions (with a bibliography).
416 Cf. Dorati 2011 286 ff.

the other half with ochre".[417] The description is in the present tense, which is "expressing an actual, ethnographical reality".[418]

Dominique Zahan found African ethnographic parallels for the arrows with stone tips as well as for the strange custom of painting the warrior's body half white and half ochre before he would go to battle.[419] If there were indeed Aithiopian warriors in the Persian army who corresponded to Herodotus' description, they could have been recruited only at the southern confines of the Kingdom of Kush. If so, the king of Kush presented the exotic warriors to the Persian satrap of Egypt in the framework of the traditional diplomatic gift exchange between two neighbours (cf. Chapter 4.10).

417 *FHN* I 314, trans. T. Eide.

418 Dorati 2011 287.

419 D. Zahan: Couleurs et peintures corporelles en Afrique Noire. Le problème du "half-man". *Diogène* 90 (1975) 115–135.

CHAPTER 5

Herodotus in Nubia

1 Herodotus' Sources on Kushite Kingship

> That this was what really happened I myself learnt from the priests of Hephaestus at Memphis, though the Greeks have various improbable versions of the story[.][1]

> [The] question (…) is (…) about what became of the recollections that must have existed in the form of individual remembrances and collective traditions (…) in Egypt (…) [I]t is much easier to explain the survival of these memories until the Hellenistic period than their complete disappearance. Herodotus and demotic literature abound with tales, anecdotes, and fables that must have lived on in oral tradition for centuries or even a millennium.[2]

According to Chapter 41 of Book II of the *Histories*,

> All Egyptians use bulls and bull-calves for sacrifice, if they have passed the test for 'cleanness'; but they are forbidden to sacrifice heifers, on the ground that they are sacred to Isis (…) This is the reason why no Egyptian, man or woman, will kiss a Greek, or use a Greek knife, spit, or cauldron, or even eat the flesh of a bull known to be clean, if it has been cut with a Greek knife.[3]

It is far from certain, however, that the taboo appearing in this passage represents in fact a timeless feature of Egyptian (ritual) purity. At the zenith of New Kingdom Egypt's power, Rameses II's *Marriage Stela* describes Egyptian and Hittite soldiers eating and drinking together, because "they were like brothers".[4] It would thus seem that the origins of the taboo related by Herodotus were

1 Hdt. 2.2, trans. de Sélincourt–Marincola 2003 96.

2 Assmann 1997 41 f., with reference to E. Brunner-Traut: *Altägyptische Tiergeschichte und Fabel, Gestalt und Strahlkraft*. Darmstadt 1984.

3 de Sélincourt–Marincola 2003 111.

4 C. Kuentz: "La stèle du mariage" de Ramses II. *ASAE* 25 (1925) 181–238 218.

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more recent. Jan Assmann made the acute observation[5] that its only parallel is to be found in the text of Piankhy's *Great Triumphal Stela* (cf. Chapters 1.3, 4.4). Lines 147–152 of the stela inscription recount the homage paid to Piankhy by the "rulers of the South", Nimlot and Peftjauawybast, and the "rulers of the North", Osorkon IV and Iuput II. Only Nimlot is allowed to enter Piankhy's residence. The other three are excluded, because they are ritually impure:[6]

> [T]hose two rulers of the South and the two rulers of the North
> came wearing their uraei[7]
> to kiss the ground to the might of His Majesty.
> Now these kings and counts of North-land came to behold His Majesty's beauty,
> their legs being the legs of women.
> They could not enter the royal residence
> because they were uncircumcised and fish-eaters,
> and this is an abomination to the royal residence.
> But King Nimlot entered the royal residence
> because he was clean and did not eat fish.[8]

It is worth noting here that, under special circumstances, the Nubian ruler demanded actual *priestly purity* from certain groups of his subjects. At an earlier stage of the campaign recorded in the stela, sending his army north to Egypt to recapture the rebel Nimlot's capital,[9] Piankhy orders the soldiers to purify themselves as a preparation for battle. Thereby he elevates the campaign to the level of a holy war:

> When you reach Dominion (Thebes) opposite Karnak,
> enter into the water, purify yourselves in the river,
> and wear the best linen.[10]

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5 Assmann 2000a 226.

6 For the context of Piankhy's concept of purity, cf. Morris 2010 210 ff.; Spencer 2010 260 f.

7 I.e., diadems. Cf. Russmann 1974; Török 1987; Leahy 1992.

8 *Great Triumphal Stela*, lines 147–152, *FHN* I 110 f., trans. R.H. Pierce.—For the fish taboo, see I. Gamer-Wallert: *Fische und Fischkulte im alten Ägypten* (*ÄA* 21). Wiesbaden 1970 81 ff. Cf. also P.J. Frandsen: Tabu. *LÄ* VI (1986) 135–142.

9 Hermopolis.

10 *wnḫ tp-š* (?) "wear the best linen": Lichtheim 1980 69, with reference to priestly clothing. Cf. R. Grieshammer: Reinheit, kultische. *LÄ* V (1983) 212–213. Reading the passage similarly to Lichtheim, Grimal 1981a 26 translates "habillez-vous de lin pur". I prefer Lichtheim's and

Lay down (your) weapons! Loosen (your) arrow(s)!
Don't boast of being a possessor of strength;
for there is no strength for the mighty without him (Amun) (…)
(So) sprinkle yourselves with the water of the cups of his altar!
Kiss the ground before him!
Say to him, 'Give us the way,
that we may fight in the shadow of your strong arm'.[11]

Piankhy's demands repeat prescriptions concerning the Egyptian priests' physical and ritual cleanness. The *wʿb* ("clean") priest must be circumcised, cleanly shaven, dressed in linen, cannot eat pork or fish, cannot wear leather or wool, and before entering the temple has to purify himself with water from the sacred lake (or the Nile).[12]

In Chapters 4.2–13 of this book we have confronted the Aithiopian passages with the "really existing" ancient Nubia, as it may be perceived today (cf. Chapters 1.1–3). Although the confrontation did not result in a radical revision of the consensus concerning the limited Nubiological *Quellenwert* of the *Histories* (cf. Chapter 1.2), some information turned out more credible than believed so far. Chapter 2.100 of the *Histories* implies that one of Herodotus' principal sources for his history of Egypt (2.99–182) was provided by the learned priests of the Memphite Ptah sanctuary.[13] Information deriving from the source(s) to which Herodotus got access through them could be pointed out in the accounts of Sesostris' (2.110, here Chapter 2, Text 1, cf. Chapters 4.2, 3) and Sabacos' reigns (2.137 + 139, here Chapter 2, Text 2 and 2.152, here Text 3, cf. Chapter 4.4) and in the long passages describing Herodotus' two Aithiopias (2.29–31, here Chapter 2, Text 6, and 3.17–25, here Text 7; cf. Chapters 4.7–9).

To the information received from the priests of Ptah Herodotus added further "realistic" information deriving from other sources. Except for the information provided by the priests of the Theban Amun sanctuary (cf. Chapter 4.1), these sources cannot be pinpointed. In any case, the unidentified sources of the information occurring in 2.161 (Chapter 2, Text 4) and 2.42 (Chapter 2, Text 5) were Egyptian. The sources in the background of 3.97 (Chapter 2, Text 8) and 7.69 (Chapter 2, Text 12) were Persian, but Herodotus came across them

Grimal's reading and translation of this sentence to the reading *wnḫ-ṯn m tp-mr*, "dress yourselves" put forward by Pierce in *FHN* I 71 line 12.

11 *FHN* I 71 f., lines 12–14, trans. R.H. Pierce.

12 Clarysse 2010 277.

13 Cf. Lloyd 1975 90.

in Egypt. The information appearing in 4.197 (Chapter 2, Text 9), 4.183 (Chapter 2, Text 10), and 3.114 (Chapter 2, Text 11) derives from the Greek tradition.

In Chapter 100 of Book II Herodotus makes the important remark that the priests of Ptah *read* to him "from a *written record* the names of three hundred and thirty monarchs"[14] (cf. Chapter 4.1). On the basis of what we have learnt about the relationship of "fiction" and "reality" in Herodotus' Aithiopian passages, I have ventured a hypothesis concerning the nature of the actual written documents—probably papyri (cf. Chapter 4.1)—that the priests of Ptah studied when they tried to inform their learned Greek visitor on matters of Egypt's remote past.[15] It may be argued that the specific information relating to Kushite kingship that appears in 2.29–31, 2.110, 2.137 + 139, 2.152, and 3.17–25 derives from (a) text(s) containing (elements of) an eulogistic discourse[16] on the Nubian dynasty's myth of the state (cf. Chapter 4.9). The composition of the supposed discourse may be placed in the intellectual milieu in which the *Memphite Theology of Creation* (Chapter 4.2) was conceived, and it can be dated to the period in which the capital of the double kingdom of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty pharaohs Shabaqo, Shebitqo, and Taharqo was at Memphis. Judging by the topical and chronological range of the references made to the role that the Amun oracles play in the Kushite investiture rites, it may also be supposed that sometime after the late seventh century BC the Memphite discourse on Twenty-Fifth-Dynasty kingship was re-edited and complemented with more recent information (Chapters 4.1, 4, 5.1).

Although it appears in the history of Egypt, the association of Sesostris[17] with Nubia in 2.110 (here Chapter 2, Text 1, cf. Chapters 4.2, 3 above) reflects the *Nubian* revival of the cult of Senusret III occurring under the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and especially in the reign of Taharqo. The emulation of great Middle Kingdom rulers in general and of Senusret III in particular constituted a significant aspect of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty image of the ideal ruler, and it supported the Nubian pharaohs' royal legitimacy in Nubia as well as in Egypt. Passages in the account of Sabacos' reign in 2.137 + 139 (here Chapter 2, Text 2) where Sabacos imitates Sesostris in compelling the criminal offender instead of death penalty "to heap up dykes in front of his home city", derive probably from the same Memphite source.

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14 Trans. de Sélincourt–Marincola 2003 133 (my italics).

15 Cf. Lloyd 2007 312.

16 Cf. J. Assmann: Eulogie, Königs-. *LÄ* II (1977) 40–46; Redford 1986 127 ff.

17 Cf. Sethe 1900; Malaise 1966; Lloyd 1982a; Assmann 2011 261 f.

In Chapter 139 of Book II (here Chapter 2, Text 2) the gods warn Sabacos through a dream that a catastrophe is about to bring him down if he transgresses the limits of moral. The *Histories* abound with stories about oracles.[18] As a narrative device, Sabacos' dream oracle belongs to the current mechanisms of decision-making in the *Histories*.[19] Herodotus' references to Aithiopian oracles or to oracles received by Aithiopians cannot be dismissed, however, as mere narrative devices or as repetitions of what the historian could easily learn about Greek or Egyptian oracles. Just as Herodotus' information about Kushite kingship is more substantial than his knowledge of Egyptian kingship, his information about the functional context of Kushite oracles is of a better quality than his knowledge of Egyptian *Orakelwesen*[20] (cf. 2.83[21]). While Herodotus purposefully interweaves the story of the dream with the horrible Persian *lustratio* motif (which also occurs in the Pythius story in 7.39, cf. Chapter 4.4), the dream oracle itself indicates again the same Memphite source(s). Information about the special significance of the Kushite oracles in the legitimation, investiture, and political decisions of the Nubian rulers is also present in 2.29–31 (here Chapter 2, Text 6, cf. Chapter 4.7) and 3.17–26 (here Chapter 2, Text 7, cf. Chapters 4.8, 9).

Albeit obviously simplified and distorted by (a) re-edition(s) of the original discourse (cf. Chapters 4.1, 4), the image of Kushite kingship as it transpires in the Aithiopian passages, first of all in 2.29–31 (Text 6), 2.137+139 (Text 2), 2.152 (Text 3), and 3.17–25 (Text 7), is far more substantial than the portrait that Herodotus draws of the ideal pharaoh of Egypt. The difference becomes quite clear if we confront Herodotus' image of Kushite kingship with Alan Lloyd's survey of Herodotus' references to the Egyptian pharaoh's campaigns/conquests, diplomatic activities, temple-building actions, and ambition to excel; his benevolence, piety, justice, arrogance, vengefulness, and ruthlessness; his acting as guardian of moral order or appearance as trickster.[22] Without exception, the characteristics of the Egyptian pharaoh are *topoi*. Many of them are obviously Greek, not Egyptian *topoi*. Moreover, most of them are familiar from descriptions of other peoples, confirming us in our impression that Herodotus possessed little specific information about Egyptian kingship.

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18 Cf. Kirchberg 1964; Asheri 1993; Saïd 2002; Griffin 2006.

19 Cf. Asheri 2007a 41.

20 For the Egyptian *Orakelwesen*, see Kákosy 1982; Kuhlmann 1988; Römer 1994 135–462.

21 Cf. Lloyd 1976 346 ff.

22 Lloyd 2002 423 f.—For Egyptian kingship, see O'Connor–Silverman (eds) 1995; C. Ziegler (ed.): *The Pharaohs*. New York 2002; B. Haring: Administration and Law. in: Lloyd (ed.) 2010 218–236 219 ff.; Morris 2010.

The preservation in the Ptah temple at Memphis of (a) text(s) conveying the idealizing memory of the foreign rulers of Egypt and presenting them as monarchs whose legitimacy derived from the great pharaohs of the past such as Sesostris (i.e., Senusret I and III) may seem rather unexpected. It is not less surprising that the priests of Ptah would make a Greek traveller acquainted with a *sympathetic* image of a foreign conqueror. Yet the actual case is rather special. Egyptian historical memory preserved an ambiguous image of the Kushite dynasty: the Nubian rulers were remembered both as invaders and legitimate kings who reunited Egypt, restored the temples of her gods, and were then overthrown by a cruel conqueror. Though after 593 BC the official propaganda of the Saite Twenty-Sixth Dynasty resurrected the negative Nubia-*topoi* of Egyptian New Kingdom imperialism and the image of the Nubian as enemy of the gods reappeared in texts inscribed on some temple walls,[23] such a manipulation of historical memory was not effectual in all of the great sanctuaries of the land. After Tanwetamani's withdrawal, high dignitaries of Nubian origin continued to be active in Thebes. The Theban priesthood maintained contacts with the kings and temples of Nubia[24] and preserved the memory of the Nubian pharaohs as Amun's pious sons and benefactors of Thebes.

The preservation of elements of a positive Nubia tradition was not restricted to Upper Egypt. Alan Lloyd points out that Herodotus' description of King Sethos of Egypt as "high priest of Hephaestus (= Ptah of Memphis)" in 2.141 is part of a "pro-Nubian strand in Egyptian tradition (…) and may also reflect the (…) interest shown by the Nubians in the shrine of Ptah/Hephaestus at Memphis"[25] (for this interest, see Chapter 4.3). Sethos, high priest of Hephaestus, is doubtless identical with the Nubian King Shebitqo.[26] According

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23 For the evidence, see Yoyotte 1951; Sauneron–Yoyotte 1952.

24 As it is indicated, e.g., by the texts on the sarcophagi of Kings Anlamani (late seventh century BC, Khartoum 1868) and Aspelta (late seventh–early sixth century BC, MFA 23.729), R.A. Parker–J. Leclant–J.-C. Goyon: *The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak*. Providence-London 1979 Pls 31–33; Dunham 1955 figs 58–68; Doll 1982. For further texts, see J.W. Yellin: An Astronomical Text from Begrawiyeh South 503. *Meroitica* 7 (1984) 577–582.

25 Lloyd 2007 343.

26 Cf. Lloyd 1988a 100: Sethos is a corruption of *Šꜣ-bꜣ-tꜣ-kꜣ*. For the name *Šbtk*, *Šꜣ-bꜣ-tꜣ-kꜣ* in hieroglyphic inscriptions, cf. von Beckerath 1984 XXV/5; Zibelius-Chen 2011 218.—Zibelius-Chen 2011 219 suggests that the name consists of Meroitic *sb*, "prince", "lord" and *tk*(*e*), "to love", "to respect" and it may have the meaning "the one whom the prince

to 2.141 he was the successor of Anysis, but Herodotus discusses his reign as a sequel to the Sabacos story. His chronological position is also fixed in 2.142:

> the Egyptians and their priests (…) declare that three hundred and forty-one generations separate the first king of Egypt from the last I have mentioned—the priest of Hephaestus—and that there was a king and a high priest corresponding to each generation.[27]

Similarly to his historical model, Sethos defends Egypt against the Assyrian invader, Sennacherib (cf. Chapter 1.3). Receiving the news of Sennacherib's advance,

> not knowing what else to do (…) [Sethos] entered the shrine [of Ptah] and, before the image of the god, complained bitterly of the peril which threatened him. In the midst of his lamentations he fell asleep, and dreamt that the god stood by him and urged him not to lose heart; for if he marched boldly out to meet the Arabian army, he would come to no harm, as the god himself would send him helpers.[28]

Once again, the motif of dream oracle appears in association with a ruler who is modelled on one of the kings of the Nubian Twenty-Fifth Dynasty[29] (cf. Chapter 4.7).

The idealization of the Nubian pharaohs' memory turned into a practical political tool after 525 BC when Egypt came under Persian rule[30] and Nubia was considered a likely supporter of the restoration of the pharaonic state. The ardour of the confrontation of the tyranny and godlessness of the Persian conqueror[31] with the legitimacy and piousness of the Nubian kings may have

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loves" or "the one who loves/respects the prince" and refers to Shebitqo's predecessor, Shabaqo.

27 de Sélincourt–Marincola 2003 153 f.

28 2.141, trans. de Sélincourt–Marincola 2003 153.

29 For the Egyptian New Kingdom conception of divine intervention in grand history and in private life, cf. Assmann 1990b 14 ff.

30 Posener 1936; A. Kuhrt: *The Ancient Near East: c. 3000–330 BC* II. London-New York 1995 623 ff.; ead.: *The Persian Empire: A Corpus of Sources from the Achaemenid Period* II. London-New York 2007 104 ff.

31 The conqueror's "nationalist" portrait did not closely correspond to reality, however. See

been further intensified by the indignation and jealousy felt by Egyptian priests when they saw the lavishness as the conqueror rewarded certain Lower Egyptian sanctuaries for their pro-Persian gestures.[32]

We read about the Nile flood in a Nineteenth- or Twentieth-Dynasty hieratic ostracon text that "the water that comes forth, there is Amun in it in the land of Kush".[33] The special association of Amun with the inundation in the Luxor temple[34] derives from the association of Amun of Napata with the Nile flood and with fertility.[35] The survival of the notion of Nubia as the home of Amun of Napata and the land from where the inundation arrives was indebted not only to the theological literature created in Egypt's great sanctuaries[36] but also to the "nationalist" trend[37] unfolding in Late Period Egypt in times of foreign rule (Assyrians, Persians). The question, why should Egyptian priests evoke to Herodotus the memory of a past conqueror of Egypt as a contrast to the present conqueror of their land, may be easily answered: haters of Egypt's Persian conquerors were talking to a Greek traveller who did not conceal from them that he is a determined critic of Persian expansion and despotism.[38]

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the next note. On the period and on Cambyses' actual relations with the Egyptian temples, see K. Jansen-Winkeln: Die Quellen zur Eroberung Ägyptens durch Kambyses in: Bács (ed.) 2002 309–319; Vittmann 2011 374 f.

32 Lloyd 1982a; 1983 294 ff. On Udjahorresnet, who designed Cambyses' Egyptian royal titulary and advised the conqueror about religious matters, see Lloyd 1982b; W. Huss: Ägyptische Kollaborateure in persischer Zeit. *Tyche* 12 (1997) 131–143; Vittmann 2011 377 ff., 388 ff.

33 Ostracon DeM 1072. G. Posener: *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques litteraires de Deir el Médineh* I. Le Caire 1938 no. 1072; Zibelius-Chen 1994 4 f.; 1996 198 f. See also the evidence cited in Pamminger 1992 136 note 280.

34 Pamminger 1992 105 ff.

35 Leclant 1965 241 ff.; Pamminger 1992 113 ff.; Zibelius-Chen 1994 5; 1996 198 f.

36 For a general survey of the evidence, see L. Kákosy: Nubien als mythisches Land im Altertum. *Annales Budapest* 8 (1966) 3–10.

37 Cf. Lloyd 1982a.

38 Cf. Harrison 2002; Flower 2006.

2 "Reflections in a Distant Mirror"[39]

> We know that there is truth; but we cannot exactly decide where it lies.[40]

In his *Realencyclopädie* article[41] Felix Jacoby paints the portrait of an intellectual who starts his work as a geographer/ethnographer in Hecataeus of Miletus' tradition[42] and develops into a historian (more than that, into the actual begetter of the genre of history) when he realizes Persia's influence on the fate of the Greek city-states and of other lands. At the same time, however, Jacoby characterizes his Herodotus as a collector of accounts of widely different origins and aims which he pastes together loosely, *without having a unified design*.[43] Such a charge of incoherence was already voiced, and denied, in antiquity: suffice it to repeat here the lucid comment made by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (fl. *c.* 20 BC) that Herodotus "having chosen a number of subjects which are in no way alike has made them into one harmonious body".[44] Jacoby's criticism of the inconsistency of the *Histories* is generally rejected in modern Herodotean studies.[45] Today there is a more or less complete agreement that Herodotus selected the narrative units[46] of his *Histories* consciously[47] and, in order to articulate persuasively his views, he integrated them into a *planned*

39 I have borrowed the expression "Distant Mirror" from the title of Barbara W. Tuchman's splendid monograph: *A Distant Mirror: The Calamitous 14th Century*. New York 1978.

40 Thomas Babington Macaulay on the *Histories*. in: *Edinburgh Review* (May 1828), quoted after A. Budd (ed.): *The Modern Historiography Reader: Western Sources*. London-New York 2009 130.

41 Jacoby 1913.

42 Cf. Bertelli 2001; Fowler 2001 101 ff.; Dihle 2005 23 (somewhat exaggerating Hecataeus' impact).—For the relationship of Herodotus with Hecataeus, cf. Moyer 2002 71 ff.

43 Jacoby 1913 361.

44 Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Letter to Gnaeus Pompeius* 3, Loeb edn. (ed. S. Usher). Cambridge, Mass.-London 1985 352 ff., also quoted in Irene de Jong's masterful study of the narrative units and narrative unity of the *Histories*: de Jong 2002 245. I give de Jong's English translation.

45 For the early responses, see O. Regenbogen: Herodot und sein Werk. *Die Antike* 6 (1930) 202–248; W. Schadewaldt: Herodot als erster Historiker. *Die Antike* 10 (1934) 144–168; M. Pohlenz: *Herodot, der erste Geschichtsschreiber des Abendlandes*. Leipzig 1937 (reprint edn. Stuttgart 1961).

46 For the definition of narrative as the account of an event and its consequence(s), see M.J. Toolan: *Narrative. A Critical Introduction*. London-New York 1988 7.

47 Dewald 2002 274 ff.; see also Marincola 1987.

construction.[48] It is also argued that Herodotus describes the customs of the peoples from the perspective of the student of *political history*, not from that of the ethnographical writer.[49]

In 1.5 Herodotus concludes the account of the mythical stories about the origins of the conflict between Europe and Asia with this sentence: *"I have no intention of passing judgement on* [*their*] *truth or falsity*".[50] In 3.122 he introduces his second Samian *logos* about the end of Polycrates and the killing of Oroetes, satrap of Sardis in the same spirit: "Both stories are told to account for Polycrates' death and *the reader may take his choice between them*".[51] Michael Grant's summary comment on the attitude conveyed by these key sentences cannot be accepted when the reader of the *Histories* poses the question: *What was the historian's goal?* Grant holds namely that

> Herodotus [incorporated] in his *History* a great many stories that are most unlikely to be true, a fact of which he was perfectly well aware. He maintained that the decision to believe or disbelieve them rested with his readers, but he ambivalently continued to include such tales, as a modern historian would not.[52]

Why should such tales be included at all? Are they really told for mere entertaining, as Grant and others are suggesting?[53] Sharing the view of these scholars, some students of the *Histories* enthusiastically contrast Herodotus with Thucydides,[54] the second "Father of History", quoting a famous passage of the latter's *History of the Peloponnesian War* in order to point out basic differences between the goals of the two authors and prove the superiority of Thyucydides' method over that of Herodotus:

48 Immerwahr 1966; Bornitz 1968; Fornara 1971; Cobet 1971; van Wees 2002 (esp. 324); Baragwanath 2008, etc.

49 Thomas 2006; Forsdyke 2006 225ff. For Herodotus' interest in the Egypt of his day, cf. Moyer 2002.

50 Trans. de Sélincourt–Marincola 2003 5 (my italics).

51 Trans. de Sélincourt–Marincola 2003 222 (my italics).

52 Grant 1995 95, referring to Hdt. 1.5 and 3.122.

53 Karttunen 2002 459.

54 Bury writes that Thucydides' work marks "the longest and most decisive step that has ever been taken by a single man towards making history what it is today". J.B. Bury: *Ancient Greek Historians*. New York 1908 (reprint edn. 1958) 147; also quoted by Grant 1995 9. Cf. also Press 1982/2003 20ff., with note 48.

> I have described nothing but what I either saw myself, or learned from others of whom I made the most careful and particular enquiry. The task was a laborious one, because eyewitnesses of the same occurrences gave different accounts of them, as they remembered or were interested in the actions of one side or the other. And very likely the strictly historical character of my narrative may be disappointing to the ear. But if he who desires to have before his eyes a true picture of the events which have happened, and of the like events which may be expected to happen hereafter in the order of human things, shall pronounce what I have written useful, then I shall be satisfied. My history is an everlasting possession, not a prize composition which is heard and forgotten.[55]

Grant concludes from the comparison of Herodotus' and Thucydides' methods: "Unlike Herodotus, whose didactic efforts had been only sporadic, Thucydides, at every juncture, intended to be instructive".[56] This is an artificial antithesis, however. Admittedly, the proem of the *Histories* names goals that sound less "academic" than Thucydides' confession and betray Herodotus' debt to a wide range of traditional genres such as oral story-telling, genealogy, ethnography, geography, medical writings, poetry, and tragedy.[57] Still, his intent was not all that far from Thucydides' goal: while intending to relate human achievments "so that they may not become forgotten in time, and great and marvelous deeds—some displayed by Greeks, some by barbarians—may not be without their glory; and especially to show why the two peoples fought with each other"[58] he presented "[a] picture of the events which have happened, and of the like events which may be expected to happen hereafter in the order of human things" in which reality, fiction, description, interpretation, and instruction are interwoven in a most remarkable manner.

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55 Thucydides 1.22, trans. B. Jowett: *Thucydides* I. Oxford 1900 (2nd edn.). For other translations, cf. K. Caroll: Review of S. Lattimore (trans.): Thucydides: The Peloponnesian War. Indianapolis[-Cambridge] 1998. *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 1999. 06. 18; T. Rood: Review of D. Lateiner: *Thucydides: The History of the Peloponnesian War. Translated by* R. Crawley *and revised by* D. Lateiner. New York 2006. *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 2007. 08. 14. On Thucydides' proem, cf. R. Nicolai: Thucydides' Archaeology: Between Epic and Oral Traditions. in: Luraghi (ed.) 2001 263–285 264 ff.

56 Grant 1995 8. See also, e.g., Bakker 2002 32; Rösler 2002 79; Raaflaub 2002 153 f., 179.

57 See D. Lateiner: The Empirical Element in the Methods of Early Greek Medical Writers and Herodotus: A Shared Epistemological Response. *Antichthon* 20 (1986) 1–20; Murray 2001; Boedeker 2002; Slings 2002; Saïd 2002; Osborne 2002; Marincola 2006; Fowler 2006; Griffin 2006; Griffiths 2006 and cf. Kaiser 1968 213 ff., etc.

58 Trans. de Sélincourt–Marincola 2003 3.

According to Alan Lloyd's fine definition of Herodotus' view of human experience,

> [t]he Herodotean world had two interpenetrating aspects, the cosmic and the human. The former was conceptualized as a *cosmic order*, both moral and physical (δίκη), in which the most important notion was the concept of boundaries by which all things and all beings were allotted their proper place (…) the most prominent offence (…) is *hybris*, the transgression of boundaries (…) any success or happiness (…) is ultimately the gift of the gods and can be taken away as and when they will. The concept of fate does not, however, in any way impair man's responsibility as a moral agent (…) Herodotus perceives human history as a series of demonstrations of these principles (…) Herodotus' perception of his role and obligations as a historian is inseparably linked with these ideas (…) It also emerges that he is concerned with explaining why things have happened.[59]

Herodotus proceeds in the execution of this program examining three topics that have a special significance to him, viz., "the origins of communities and customs, the rise and fall of powers, and the causes of wars".[60] He finds the explanation for Persian expansionism in two principles, namely, in "the inevitable need of states to expand or be absorbed by another expanding power", and in the fact that "infertile lands (…) give rise to tough and warlike people who are easily able to conquer 'soft' people who live in more hospitable lands".[61] It is somewhat misleading when Dewald poses the question if Herodotus intended

> his work to be at base a constructed and thus implicitly persuasive form of narrative, with all the (rhetorical) possibilities for invention that entails? Or was it instead his intent to produce a neutral, impartial, and, as much as possible, transparent account of past human social realities? Unlike Thucydides (1.21–22), Herodotus does not tell us.[62]

Actually, we may find an answer to Dewald's question in the proem of the *Histories*[63] for, as Hans van Wees argues, it

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59 Lloyd 1988b 29.

60 van Wees 2002 324.

61 Forsdyke 2006 228.—See also Kuhrt 2002 480.

62 Dewald 2002 268.

63 For the authenticity of the proem, see Asheri 2007a 1.

> implies that [Herodotus'] work of history was compiled for posterity, not just for the entertainment or education of contemporary audiences (...) He sought to create 'a possession for all time' (...) although presumably he would have rejected Thucydides' opinion that this mission was incompatible with storytelling and 'competition for an immediate audience'.[64]

It is to be added with Emily Baragwanath that

> Herodotus sought to communicate not only what happened (...) but also the background of thoughts and perceptions that both *shaped* those events and became critical to their fair interpretation in retrospect (...) His ascriptions of motives seem in keeping with the 'open' ending of the work as a whole (...) Herodotus' is a Janus-faced view, directed not only backwards in time to past events, but forward, to readers of the future.[65]

The point must be reiterated here that there is hardly any narrative in the *Histories* that would be known with absolute certainty to have been included by Herodotus for the purpose of *pure* entertaining. At best, we cannot perceive his actual intention. This is also true for the Aithiopian passages, and their eventual utopian features of course do not contradict this, either. Following Herodotean scholars who propose, in however different manners, to identify a unifying subject and a unifying structure in the *Histories*,[66] in this book I approached the Aithiopian passages on the assumption that all of them bear a (not always obvious) relation to the intention of the *actual narrative context* in which we find them being inserted. I have found confirmed that, be it of whatever origin or "reality", Herodotus placed his pieces of Aithiopian information with clear conceptual intents.

I have also argued in this study that the Aithiopian information available to Herodotus was inadequate for a self-contained Aithiopian *logos*, thus he could not present a consciously composed, independent narrative that would systematically discuss interpenetrating topics (Chapters 3.1, 2). Instead, the Aithiopian passages *complement* or *support* accounts of the land, origins,

64 van Wees 2002 322.

65 Baragwanath 2008 323.

66 Immerwahr 1966; Bornitz 1968; Fornara 1971; Cobet 1971; I.J.F. de Jong: Aspects narratologiques des *Histoires* d'Hérodote. *Lalies* 19 (1999) 217–275, etc.

customs, and history of other peoples, first of all the Egyptians. They function as flexible and expedient particles of Herodotus' worldview. The reason for which the historian gave a special emphasis to one or two Aithiopian passages—first of all to the account of the dialogue between the spies of Cambyses and the king of the long-lived Aithiopians, in which the latter pronounces one of the central messages of the *Histories* (3.21, here Chapter 2, Text 7, cf. Chapters 4.8–9)—lies probably in the perennial impact of the Homeric image of the land of the blameless Aithiopians (see Chapter 4.8 above).

Chapters 17–26 of Book III (here Chapter 2, Text 7) containing the most complex one among the Aithiopian passages are structured by two interrelated antitheses.[67] The first is the antithesis of an empire that cannot exist without expansion to a "primitive people" (ἔθνη) that do not form an empire. The second is the antithesis of the frailty of Mediterranean civilization to the uncorrupted way of life of the long-lived Aithiopians.[68] By means of these antitheses, the narrative demonstrates the striking contrast between the mad Persian conqueror and a morally superior peripheral people embodying Homer's "most distant of men" (Chapter 4.8).[69] The land of the long-lived Aithiopians represents an ideal counterpart[70] to the *oikumene*'s troubles: it is a moral and political utopia. Cambyses' failure to conquer it presents a paradigm for the conqueror's hubris, his progress toward nemesis, and his horrible punishment.

According to David Asheri "[t]he leitmotif of Book III is, essentially, the metaphysical and moral conflict between falsehood and truth (...) as if it were the philosophical pivot of the whole story".[71] Asheri also argues that there is "an evident substratum" of oriental material in this book, the complexity of which implies that in composing his sophisticated examples of the conflict between falsehood and truth Herodotus relied not only on the Ionian philosophical tradition and/or the sophistic movement,[72] but was also aware of "the mazdaic dualism of Ormuz and Ahriman, of the principles of Good and Evil, True and False, in eternal conflict in the souls of humans".[73]

67 Cf. Cobet 2002 405.
68 Cf. also Burkert 1990 10.
69 *Od.* 1.23, see also *Il.* 13.6; Aeschylus, *frgm.* 329 M; Hdt. 4.23 (Scythians), 4.26 (Issedones).
70 Romm 1992 49 ff.
71 Asheri 2007c 391 f.
72 Cf. Thomas 2000 221 ff., 260 ff., Thomas 2006 67 ff.; Scullion 2006 202 ff.; but see also Baragwanath 2008 20 ff., 55 ff.
73 Asheri 2007c 392; see also Baragwanath 2008 112 ff.

Half of the Aithiopian passages appear in the context of the Egyptian *logos*. If the common topic of the narratives of Book III is the conflict between falsehood and truth, the account of Egyptian history in Book II is underpinned by Herodotus' interpretation of the Greek moral universe. Alan Lloyd identifies a series of deeply impressive narratives presented by Herodotus

> to illustrate and confirm fundamental Greek perceptions of the way the world works: the punishment of Pheros (2.111), the moral disquisition at 2.120,[74] the concept of divine punishment at 2.139 [*here Chapter 2, Text 2*], (…) the fall of Apries from unparalleled good fortune (2.162, 169), Psammenitus' recognition of the pathos that can arise from the transitory nature of human well-being (3.14), and, most telling of all, the quintessentially Greek moral thinking driving the narrative of the relationship between Amasis and Polycrates and the latter's disastrous end (3.39–43).[75]

This list is incomplete without the account of the land of the long-lived Aithiopians and Cambyses' failure to conquer it. Sara Forsdyke rightly points out that it is part and parcel of Herodotus' "critical examination of Greek understandings of Self and Other" and of his systematic analysis of politics.[76] Details such as the election of the tallest and best-looking man have Greek, not Nubian origins. It also appears in portraits of heroes from other regions.[77] From the special aspect of the present investigation, however, the most significant feature of this narrative is that Herodotus inserted into it *realistic* information about *Persian* as well as *Kushite* conceptions. He used information about the "election" of the king of Kush and the complex role that the oracle of Zeus (Amun) plays in it with the intention to support a discourse composed mainly from *Greek* elements and addressed to a *Greek* audience.

So much for the manner in which Herodotus approached his general goal in his brief and fragmentary accounts of Aithiopia. Concluding our survey, let us return for a moment to the problem of the goal itself. In his *Histories* Herodotus described (of course partly inventing it) a universal historical space.[78] In time,

74 I.e., the Egyptian priests on Helen.

75 Lloyd 2002 425f.

76 Forsdyke 2006 224ff. See also Lloyd 2002 417 on Herodotus' definition of "self" and "alien" by the representation of the confrontation between Greece and the Persian Empire.

77 E.g., see the size of Orestes (1.68), Perseus (2.91), Heracles (4.82), Philippos (9.72, 83) and Xerxes (7.187). Cf. also Hofmann–Vorbichler 1979 47f.

78 Mitchell 2008, in her review of Asheri–Lloyd–Corcella 2007.

he went back to the oldest gods beyond Min, the first human king of Egypt (2.43, 145).[79] In space, his investigations extended to the boundaries of the known world:

> His record of the achievements of mankind (…) included *all* of mankind and *all* of the past (…) [H]is accounts of Egyptians, Scythians, and many other peoples did (…) take the form of digressions—but in substance they were an integral part of what the *Histories* were intended to be: a universal history of the human race.[80]

A *universal history* of the human race: but it was not an end in itself. Herodotus set himself the task to find and describe the *universal law* that determines the course of history, similarly as Anaximander treated the natural world, or Solon the life of human society.[81] He also set himself the tasks to locate Greek culture and experience within his universal historical space,[82] explain why individuals and communities rise and fall, demonstrate "the value of political freedom",[83] and warn the Athenians against developing an expansionist policy and committing transgressions such as may follow from the fatal error of underestimating the Persian Empire.[84]

Accordingly, the moral criticism of expansionism voiced by the king of the long-lived Aithiopians (3.21, here Chapter 2, Text 7) has to be considered one of the central messages of the *Histories*. In the speech of Artabanus addressed to Xerxes (7.18) Herodotus reiterates the Aithiopian's message about "the recurrent model of failed expansionism":[85]

> Sire, like other men I have seen in my time powerful kingdoms struck down by weaker ones, and I could not but remember the fate of Cyrus' campaign against the Massagetae and Cambyses' invasion of Aithiopia (…) My memory of these disasters forced me to believe that the world would call you happy only if you lived in peace.[86]

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79 Cf. Kaiser 1968 210 ff.
80 van Wees 2002 321.
81 Ritoók 2006 429.
82 Mitchell 2008; cf. Cartledge–Greenwood 2002.
83 Forsdyke 2002 549.
84 Ritoók 2006 *passim*; cf. Flower 2006.
85 Asheri 2007a 36.
86 Trans. de Sélincourt–Marincola 2003 424.

The disapproval of expansionism voiced by the Aithiopian king also corresponds to the words said to Cyrus by the herald of Tomyris, queen of the Massagetae ("Rule your own people, and try to bear the sight of me ruling mine", 1.206[87]) and the words said to Darius by Idanthyrsus, king of the Scythians ("your claim to be my master is easily answered—be damned to you", 4.127[88]). Yet, in a however indirect manner, the account of the land of the long-lived Aithiopians also conveys the historian's perception of the ominous fact that expansionist states cannot be held back, for

> [c]losely related to tyranny is the problem that ancient monarchies have with unlimited and insatiable territorial expansionism[.][89]

Earlier in this chapter I have cited Bury and Grant on the differences between Thucydides' and Herodotus' work. Thucydides' claim of the superiority of his method over Herodotus is part of the competition between history and (epic) poetry, while the contrast between the two Fathers of History as formulated by nineteenth- and twentieth-century historians is still part of the debate on how Ranke's *wie es eigentlich gewesen* ("how things really were") should be interpreted.[90] Yet "serious Greek historical writing was about contemporary history (…) [for] the past cannot yield nothing more than paradigmatic support for the conclusions one has drawn from the present; the past (…) may still be treated in the timeless fashion of myth":[91]

> One might almost say that in ancient Greece there were no historians in the sense in which there were artists and philosophers; there were no

87 Trans. de Sélincourt–Marincola 2003 90.

88 Trans. de Sélincourt–Marincola 2003 283.

89 Asheri 2007c 390.

90 L. von Ranke: *Geschichte der lateinischen und germanischen Völker* (Leipzig-Berlin 1824) in: *Sämtliche Werke* 33–34. Leipzig 1885 7. According to K. Repgen: Über Rankes Diktum von 1824: "Bloss sagen, wie es eigentlich gewesen". *Historisches Jahrbuch* 102 (1982) 439–449 Ranke quoted Thucydides 2.48.3. But see R.S. Stroud: "Wie es eigentlich gewesen" and Thucydides 2.48.3. *Hermes* 115 (1987) 379–382.—Cf. also M.-J. Zemlin: "Zeigen, wie es eigentlich gewesen". Zur Deutung eines berühmten Rankeswortes. *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* 37 (1986) 333–350.—For Ranke's relation to the scholarly apparatus at the time of his famous dictum, see A. Grafton: *The Footnote: A Curious History*. Cambridge, Mass. 1997 62 ff.

91 Finley 1975 31.

> people who devoted their lives to the study of history; the historian was only the autobiographer of his generation[.][92]

Moses Finley argues[93] that the demands powerfully declared by Lucian of Samosata, who wrote the following around AD 165, were still measuring history against poetry rather than forecasting the modern requirements of objectivity and accuracy:

> This, then, is the sort of man a historian should be: fearless, incorruptible, free, a friend of free expression and the truth, intent, as the comic poet says, on calling a fig a fig and a trough a trough, giving nothing to hatred or to friendship, sparing no one, showing neither pity nor shame nor obsequiousness, an impartial judge, well disposed to all men up to the point of not giving one side more than its due, in his books a stranger and a man without a country, independent, subject to no sovereign, not reckoning what this or that man will think, but stating the facts.[94]

Notwithstanding Finley's warning, late adherents of strict empirical historicism not only see Herodotus' imperfections to have been improved in Thucydides' work but also maintain Ranke's goal "not to judge the past or to interpret history through an ethical or moral lens, but 'to show how, essentially, things happened'" and place their work in a process of development from the requirements declared by Lucian to a historicism increasingly supported by "material history", the multidisciplinary research of material objects. Herodotus would hardly agree with the view that "there is one past and thus one history". He sensed the "epistemological fragility" of history.[95] Throughout his work he presented again and again *not one but many histories*. Provided that s/he realizes the perils of dogmatism, the modern historian must be ready to consider if, and how far, historiography is "an inter-textual, linguistic construct"[96] and become thus aware of the danger imminent in the emergence of politically motivated

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92 R.G. Collingwood: *The Idea of History*. Oxford 1946 26 f., quoted by Finley 1975 31.

93 Lucian's *How to Write History* is "nothing but a concoction of the rules and maxims which had become the commonplaces of a rhetorical education, a shallow and essentially worthless pot-boiler": Finley 1975 12 (= Myth, Memory and History. *History and Theory* 4 [1965] 282–302 283).

94 Lucian, *de hist. conscr.* (*How to Write History*) 41, eds T.G. Page et al., trans. K. Kilburn, Loeb edn. Cambridge, Mass.-London 1959.

95 Quotings from Jenkins 1993 13 ff.

96 Jenkins 1993 8 f.

attempts at the stopping of (national) histories. Keith Jenkins may well have foreseen them when he warned his reader: “[I]f you think that the idea of stopping history (historians) is absurd it really isn’t: stopping history is not only part of Orwell’s 1984 for example, but a part of European experience in the 1930s—the more immediate time and place that made Orwell consider it”.[97] Part of European experience in the 1930s—but are we not witnessing that, in some parts of Europe, historians are tempted anew into writing *one but not many histories*?

97 Jenkins 1993 13.

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General Index

Recurrent names as Africa, Aithiopia (Αἰθιοπία), Aithiopians (except for long-lived Aithiopians), (Lower, Middle, and Upper) Egypt, Egyptians, Greece, Greeks, Herodotus, (Kingdom of) Kush, (Kingdom of) Meroe, Middle Nile Region, (Lower and Upper) Nubia, Persia, Persians are not listed. Greek names and expressions and names transcribed from Egyptian are referred to according to the order of the Latin alphabet.

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